Daily Report

East Europe

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Pact Special Session on Disarmament in Bucharest

AU1810204088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2004 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Session of Special Commission on Disarmament of States Participant in Warsaw Treaty"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/10/1988—On 17 and 18 October, 1988, Bucharest hosted the third session of the Special Commission on Disarmament of the states participant in the Warsaw Treaty, at deputy foreign minister level. The delegations included representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Ministries of National Defence.

In light of the documents of the Warsaw meeting of the Consultative Political Committee the participants looked into questions related to the future negotiations on reducing the armed forces and the conventional arms as well as into the measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe. They also discussed other questions related to the actions which should contribute to intensifying the efforts for disarmament.

For Romania participating in the session was Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The session proceeded in a comradely working atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual understanding and constructive collaboration.

The deputy ministers of foreign affairs also exchanged views on organizing actions along the line of the Warsaw Treaty over the interval to the next meeting of the Consultative Political Committee, to be held in Bucharest.

The chief delegates met Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Pact Defense Ministers Session Held in Prague

Vaclavik Discusses Meeting

LD1810155488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] A session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee is in session in our capital for the 2d day.

Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, told journalists that the agenda dealt mainly with the course of actions by member countries with regard to disarmament programs. Those present also discussed some political aspects with regarding the results attained at the session of the Vienna follow-up meeting, and also with regard to the overall military political situation in the world.

Jakes Receives Participants

LD1810194188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] In Prague today, Comrade Milos Jakes received the participants in an ordinary session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states. He praised the committee's attention to fulfillment of the conclusions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting in Warsaw in July. He stressed the vital importance of the cooperation of the allied armies in safeguarding the defense of the Warsaw Pact states and in protecting the results of their peoples' creative peaceful work.

Comrade Jakes briefed the guests on the conclusions of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session on the restructuring of the economy and the democratization of political and social life in Czechoslovakia.

Soviet, GDR Military Exercise Begins

LD1710140088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The announced joint troop exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army (NVA) of the GDR began on Monday according to plan. Since the early hours of the morning the participating troops and staffs of the two fraternal armies have been transferring to the Wittstock, Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg regions. They are moving into concentration points and beginning to consolidate their positions and organize their defense.

A total of up to 17,700 members of the two fraternal armies are taking part in the exercise. The aim is to perfect the level of training in conducting defensive actions and improve cooperation between the troops. The director is Major-General Aleksey Mityukhin commander of one army of the GSFG.

In accordance with the Stockholm conference document, observers from all CSCE states were invited by the GDR Government. According to available information, 33 representatives of 17 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act are expected on Wednesday in the exercise area.

Maneuvers Continue

LD2010110888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1011 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—The joint exercise by the group of Soviet forces in Germany and the National People's Army entered its second phase today.

The troops and staffs today began practicing defensive combat operations. In accordance with the Stockholm document on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe, 33 observers from 17 CSCE

states viewed events at the training center in Wittstock. Earlier, deputy commander of the exercise, Major General (Anatoliy Koretskiy), explained the situation to them. In the course of the day the foreign military personnel will have the opportunity to talk with Soviet soldiers and will see operations by the "northerners" and the "southerners."

Observers Begin Exercise Inspection in Hungary

LD1910013488 Budapest MTI in English
2333 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—The foreign observers who arrived iin Hungary last Saturday [15 October] to inspect a military exercise in the region north of Lake Balaton, started work on Tuesday. First they heard a report by Lieutenant General Yuriy Vodolazov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary and commander of the exercise, and his deputy, Brigadier General Antal Annus. They learnt that, as stated in the prior notification sent to the 32 European countries, Canada and the United States of America, the Tuesday and Wednesday manoeuvres would involve 500 troops of the Hungarian People's Army, 16,500 troops of the Soviet Army (a motorized infantry division and an armoured division of reduced staff), 321 tanks, 222 artillery units of 100 mm and larger calibre, and 26 helicopters supporting the land forces. The exercise is aimed at practising defensive struggle, and improving the training of Hungarian and Soviet troops.

After the briefing, the observers visited a Hungarian battalion, inspected military equipment and talked to the soldiers. In the afternoon, they reviewed the activity of Soviet units, and met both commanders and troops.

In keeping with the Stockholm document, the Hungarian People's Army and the commanders of the exercise guaranteed all conditions for the work of the observers, and made it possible for them to use their own telescopes and, outside the command posts and armoured vehicles, their cameras and dictaphones.

Presidents of CEMA Chambers of Commerce Gather

LD1810161388 Prague CTK in English
1425 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 18 (CTK)—Presidents of the chambers of commerce and industry of the CMEA countries and Yugoslavia launched their 28th conference here today.

The conference, which is to last until Thursday, is attended by nine delegations of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Vietnam,) and Yugoslavia, headed by the presidents of these countries' chambers of commerce and industry. Only the president of the Romanian Chamber of Commerce and Industry is absent due to the sponsorship of the International Bucharest Fair which takes place in the same period.

The exchange of experience on the role of chambers of commerce and industry in the present stage of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the CMEA member countries and Yugoslavia is to be the main topic discussed at the conference. Its participants will discuss the possibilities of deepening multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the implementation of new methods and forms of economic cooperation. These tasks of the chambers include above all the establishment of direct relations between members of the chambers of commerce and industry of the CMEA member countries and Yugoslavia, support for the establishment of joint ventures, the improvement of consultation services provided for members of the chambers, the deepening of cooperation on a bilateral basis and intensified information activity.

Forms of multilateral cooperation between the chambers of commerce and industry are also to be solved in the framework of the conference—the statute for conferences of the presidents of CMEA countries' and Yugoslavia's chambers of commerce and industry and their working bodies is to be discussed.

Bloc Education Ministers Meeting Opens

AU1810210988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1516 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Meeting of Higher Learning Ministers From Socialist Countries"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/10/1988—Starting 18 October Bucharest is the venue of the 16th meeting of higher learning ministers from socialist countries. Experience will be broadly exchanged over 18-20 October in the development and modernization of higher learning, the communist education and instruction of the students from the participating states, with emphasis on the specific ways and means used to attain such aims. Reference will be made to the experience of higher learning institutes in scientific research, and the implementation of the specific goals stipulated by the complex programme of technical and economic cooperation among CMEA countries till the year 2000.

Radio Broadcasts Report of 17th LCY CC Plenum

AU1910201288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Oct

[Text] The 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum resumed its proceedings today, following 2 days of previous debates on the country's severe economic, political, and social crisis. In his closing speech, Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said that Yugoslavia can exist only as a genuine federation and in no way as a unitarist or separatist creation, or as a not very strong confederation. He said: We can achieve a Yugoslav dimension only by defending the interests of the workers class, and not through nationalist programs and slogans.

It is imperative that we should turn our minds urgently to the economy and relinquish attacks on and criticism of each other, Suvar stressed. He went on to say that a future meeting of the Central Committee would be devoted to the problems of Kosovo. In connection with the question of emergency measures, Suvar stated that no one wants them, but—he went on to say—if a situation arises, in which the constitutional system needs to be defended against its destruction, we will be obligated to use them.

He went on to stress that the 17th LCY Congress will be held on the basis of the procedure defined in the Statute of the LCY.

As reported by TANJUG, Stipe Suvar proposed that the Central Committee adopt a decision to replace one-third of its members. He added that replacements of this kind will also take place among the LCY central committees of the republics and provinces. This will take place over a period of 1 and a ½ months.

The LCY Central Committee accepted the resignations from its Presidium of Bosko Krunic, from Vojvodina; Kolj Siroka, from the Province of Kosovo; Milanko Renovica, from Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Franz Setinc, from Slovenia. Bosko Krunic also resigned as a member of the Central Committee.

In connection with the request of the Serbian LC Central Committee for the removal of Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi from the LCY Central Committee, a working group was formed to determine the responsibility of these officials on the basis of facts.

The LCY Central Committee also gave a vote of confidence to all members of the Presidium, with the exception of Dusan Ckrebic, from Serbia, who failed to win the necessary number of votes. Ckrebic immediately resigned from the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

It is expected that the 18th LCY Central Committee Plenum will be convened immediately after the current plenum, and that it will concentrate on the draft constitutional amendments, now currently the subject of public debate.

Myftiu Speaks at Hoxha Museum Opening

AU1810135188 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Oct 88 p 1, 3

["Speech of Comrade Manush Myftiu," AWP Central Committee Politburo member, at the opening of the Enver Hoxha Museum in Tirana on 14 October]

[Text] Dear comrades, this museum devoted to the life and brilliant achievements of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which we are inaugurating on this notable day when we remember and commemorate the 80th anniversary of his birth, is an expression of the homage of an entire people; it is an expression of the love, respect, and deep gratitude of the entire party and people for our glorious leader.

All the great transformations that have taken place in the social, economic, and political life of our country are stamped with the seal of his innovative thinking and his powerful personality as a great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and thinker. The founder of the party and the forger of the people's power, the legendary commander of the National Liberation War and the strategist of socialist construction, the bringer of new development, and a militant internationalist of world renown, Enver Hoxha is among those personalities who mark an epoch and who remain eternally in the nation's memory.

The great epoch of Enver taught us how to overcome the backwardness of centuries with incomparable energy and self-sacrifice and to accomplish tasks constituting major historical transformations within a short period. Enver was always at the head of these radical and revolutionary accomplishments and transformations, and, with his teachings and human example, never ceased in his labor for the homeland and the people. The teachings of Enver Hoxha have taken root within us, and will implant in us for centuries the unshakable resolution and confidence to advance ever victorious on the broad paths of progress and socialism. It is a noble honor and duty for us to cherish in our innermost hearts this priceless treasure that is the great life and work of Enver, these great teachings that radiate inexhaustible energy, and to hand these things down the ages as a legacy.

This museum, devoted to Enver Hoxha's revolutionary work, will be a great center for the communist education of the masses, an ever-open hearth where all may hold converse with their great educator and friend. Our young people, whom our leader forged with patience and farsightedness in order to equip them to bear the great burden of performing their duties for the benefit of the homeland and of our socialist present and future, will come to this monument of eternal glory.

The Enver Hoxha Museum reflects in concise form the entire recent history of Albania. Comrade Enver, in his role as ideologist, leader, and organizer, has been present with decisive force in all the important historical events of the last 50 years. His extensive and multifaceted work and his ties with the people have been deep and continuous. With his complex and intensive work, Comrade Enver, at the head of the party, always correctly guided the struggle to construct a new life, successfully overcoming the many difficulties, whether those of growth or those created by internal, external, imperialist, or revisionist enemies. The entire party and people, communists and cadres, workers and cooperativists, as they acquaint themselves with Enver's life and work, will also find their own lives, efforts, and successes in this museum. Alongside the emotion of experiencing great historical events, they will also find valuable teachings and unquenchable inspiration for the work of construction, for preserving what we have achieved, and for building ever increasingly upon it.

Hundreds of people from Tirana and the whole of Albania have worked with special commitment and effort to build this museum. The architects Kliment Kolaneci, Vladimir Bregu, Pranvera Hoxha, and Piro Vaso, and the builders Kujtim Meka and Kristaq Premti, have carried out work of outstanding creative value in planning this project. The contents of the museum have been assembled to a high ideological and artistic standard by the historians, philosophers, archivists, and artists Spiro Dede, Fatri Sinani, Bashkim Ahmeti, Aleksander Braho, and others. The workers, specialists, and engineers of the 21 December enterprise and many other enterprises have worked well to construct and furnish the museum. The monument of Comrade Enver Hoxha, executed with mastery and verve by Kristaq Rama, people's sculptor, and Thoma Dhamo, honored sculptor, and their coworkers adds a special beauty to the museum. In the name of the AWP Central Committee, I congratulate and thank all those who with their labor, skill, and commitment have made possible the successful completion of this magnificent work.

With its exceptionally rich store of documents and exhibits, and the extensive information and contemporary technology with which it is equipped, this museum will not be merely a specialized center for the masses' communist education. It will assist and support all the scientific work of party, state, and economic bodies in solving the problems of the present and the future. Adding documents and relics to this important center will be an ongoing task, in which all coworkers, veterans, cadres, specialists, workers and cooperativists—all those who had the fortune to preserve a direct memory of Enver Hoxha—will continue to help.

We are inaugurating this building on the 80th anniversary of the birth of Enver Hoxha, but we will not remember him only on anniversaries. The real way to eternally commemorate Comrade Enver is to work together to build upon his legacy, love and strengthen our Socialist Albania, incessantly develop our economy and culture, reinforce our defense, and cherish in our inmost hearts the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of Socialist Albania, relying upon the inexhaustible physical and mental energies of our people.

A continually deepening knowledge and study of Enver Hoxha's achievement is a need and permanent task dictated by the road on which our Socialist Albania is advancing and will advance. The Enver era is not a closed chapter. His achievements do not merely turn us to the past; they inspire and encourage us to look to the future. From them, we gain the unshakable confidence and conviction to courageously confront the tasks awaiting us. This means that Enver Hoxha's achievements are alive and topical. Always armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, standing firm on the interests of the nation and the revolution, our party and people will always be led by Enver's example to consistently and creatively respond, blow for blow, to the acute problems that the dynamism of our ever-developing life poses.

It is a primary duty for everyone to testify to all the values of Enver Hoxha's achievements, and to be aware of and study them. In effectively and consistently carrying out this duty, this important building will play a particular part and make a valuable contribution. It opens its doors today to us, Enver's contemporaries, and to all the generations to come. Glory to the brilliant and immortal achievements of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our AWP and its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head!

U.S. Envoy Whitehead Concludes Visit

Talks With Mladenov

AU1910150688 Sofia BTA in English
1435 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 19 (BTA)—The further activation of Bulgaro-American relations was high on the agenda of the session of talks which Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, had here today with Mr John Whitehead, deputy U.S. secretary of state. The current meeting takes up the dialogue held between Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, in New York City on October 5 this year. The idea of today's talks was to identify the specific new areas of cooperation between Bulgaria and the United States in the light of the common understanding reached by the two chief diplomats.

The sides agreed that a good beginning has been set in the promotion of bilateral contacts during the last two years and that this process should be carried on and extended on the basis of mutual benefit.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr John Whitehead pointed out that the new contacts and accommodations, especially since Mr Whitehead's previous visit to Bulgaria last February, had given an impetus to the invigoration of relations.

The American guest said he was deeply impressed by the vigorous pace of social and economic reform which had been implemented in Bulgaria over the last few years.

Satisfaction was expressed with the prompt settlement of bilateral disputes in the spirit of good will and with the strengthening of the established mechanisms for the furtherance of bilateral cooperation, based on reciprocal respect for each other's sovereign rights.

It was emphasised that the improvement of the political climate in the world created still more favourable conditions for wider trade, economic, scientific, technological and cultural ties between Bulgaria and the United States. An emphasis was laid on the opportunities opening up in the humanitarian field, on the need for further cooperation in the efforts to stem international drug trafficking and in other areas.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr John Whitehead considered some other matters of bilateral concern and outlined concrete steps to upgrade further bilateral contacts.

Mr John Whitehead pointed out that, irrespective of the forthcoming election and of the new administration that would take office, both major parties in the United States were convinced that contacts with the USSR and the East European countries, Bulgaria included, should be actively and fruitfully promoted.

Examining the international situation, the two officials found that the overall political climate in the world had improved and that, specifically, progress had been achieved in arms control and in the settlement of regional conflicts. They pointed to the important political implications of the Soviet-American dialogue and the personal contribution of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr Ronald Reagan. An emphasis was laid on the shared willingness for an early completion of the Vienna follow-up conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which should produce a meaningful document ushering in a new stage in the joint efforts towards security and disarmament in Europe.

Today Mr John Whitehead had separate sessions of talks with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and with Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning.

He was familiarised with the deep-going structural and technological reform of the Bulgarian economy and with this country's foreign economic relations.

The agenda included the fresh opportunities for the promotion of cooperation between Bulgaria and the United States, taking into account the traditional forms as well as the application of more modern forms: joint investment, joint entry in third markets, cooperation in the service industries.

The sides also considered the problems and the obstacles which at this stage prevent wider cooperation that would match the two countries' capabilities. They also discussed the possible ways of overcoming these problems.

The meetings were held in an open and constructive spirit characteristic of new political thinking.

Progress Pointed Out to Press

AU1910193188 Sofia BTA in English
1838 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 19 (BTA)—Mr John C. Whitehead, deputy U.S. secretary of state, left Bulgaria today firmly convinced of the continuing commitment of both sides to the process of building better bilateral relations.

"Our political dialogue is extensive. We have made progress in our exchanges on narcotics and terrorism. Better U.S.-Bulgarian relations are in the interests of both countries," Mr John Whitehead said in a press statement at Sofia airport before his departure.

He pointed out that there is nothing more important in developing relations with a country than visits back and forth of important leaders, which lead to better understanding. Bulgaria and the United States set the beginning of such meetings several years ago, and the talks of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov with his U.S. counterpart George Shultz in New York and Mr Whitehead's current meeting certainly represent important steps along the path of continuously improved relations.

Mr John Whitehead said that at his talks in Sofia the two sides have agreed that they should work harder to increase bilateral trade, which is still too small. "The newly-established Bulgarian-American Trade and Economic Council is an important development which I believe will greatly assist in this process," he said.

He singled out Bulgaria's dynamic economic growth as an important factor for wider cooperation. "The changes which have already been implemented and those now being contemplated are impressive," Mr John Whitehead said.

The U.S. deputy secretary of state spoke about the progress made in East- West relations, including relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and noted the positive trend toward possible resolutions of regional conflicts. He emphasized that his country welcomes and supports Bulgaria's interest in improving confidence and cooperation among Balkan countries.

Solovyev, Leningrad Delegation Arrives in Plovdiv

AU1910162788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Today a Soviet delegation led by Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee, arrived in Plovdiv on a visit.

The guests were welcomed by Pantaley Pachov, first secretary of Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee.

During the visit, the fulfillment of the program for the development of scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation between the twinned towns of Leningrad and Plovdiv will be examined.

SFRY 'Conflict, Rise in Tension' Viewed

AU1810145488 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Oct 88 p 3

[Stoyan Barakov article: "Political Conflict and Rise in Tension"]

[Text] For our western neighbor, autumn has already arrived. However, the political calendar does not follow the laws of astronomy. In the political arena, the temperature is rising, and the barometer also forecasts fresh storms.

Yet everything in the current political crisis seems at first glance to have had an innocent beginning, namely the initiative that the SFRY Presidency took in 1986 regarding the next constitutional changes. Since such adjustments occur very frequently in Yugoslavia, many were inclined to view the current campaign as a routine procedure, one that they expected to end with the customary unanimous adoption of the proposed amendments.

However, the events that ensued amazed even those experienced in Yugoslav affairs. In the summer of 1988 the people took to the streets in many Serbian towns in order to protest against some of the clauses in the Constitutions of the SFRY and the SR of Serbia. Later the criticisms were directed against the state of the economy, international relations, and the political system. Over 50,000 people in Pirot, more than 80,000 in Prokuplje, 100,000 in Tolica, 150,000 in Vranje, and over 300,000 in Nis—even this far from complete list indicates the scale of the discontent and confirms that it extended over the whole of Serbia. A phenomenon previously unknown in Yugoslav history, namely massed rallies of political protest, became established.

The causes of this eruption have, perhaps, been most concisely pointed out by the well known Yugoslav scientist and politician Radovan Radonjic. In his view, the economic situation in the country is now more serious, the political one more complex, and the social situation more strained than at any time during the last 3 decades. Ideological chaos is spreading. The authority of the LCY is being questioned. An especially dangerous feature is the nationalism that has enveloped all segments of the social organism. Other writers note that the SFRY, with the scale of its foreign borrowings (about $20 billion), is one of the 17 most indebted states in the world. Its domestic debt is no smaller. Over the last 2 years inflation has been running at 366 percent. Over 1.1 million people are unemployed (out of a total population of 22 million). This is why, notwithstanding some undoubted successes, the country is facing exceptionally serious problems in all spheres of life.

This situation also accounts for the principal slogans heard at the rallies. In the beginning the rally participants put forward demands that Serbia as a state should be made equal to the other Yugoslav republics, and insisted that Serbian laws should be applied not only in the so-called "Serbia proper" or "Serbia without the autonomous provinces," but also in Kosovo and Vojvodina. Criticism was particularly sharply directed against the continuing emigration of Serbs and Montenegrans from Kosovo (it is noteworthy that the rallies began precisely as a way of expressing solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrans from this autonomous province, and that their chief organizer is the Committee for Organizing Protest Rallies of Serbs and Montenegrans from Kosovo). Now the accent is mainly being placed on the social problems of the workers class (low wages, decline in living standard, and so on). Extremely strong demands are also being made for the leaders considered responsible for the present serious crisis, and especially for the situation in Kosovo, to be brought to book.

The meetings introduced many new elements into the country's political life. This is one of the reasons (but not the most important one) why this new phenomenon is assessed according to different criteria in the individual federal units. For some politicians and journalists, the meetings are an expression of the justified discontent of

the workers class and working people with the drama in Kosovo and the serious economic situation. Others regard them as an attempt to eliminate one kind of nationalism by means of another and to make factors lying outside the political system take the place of legally elected institutions. It is asserted that in this manner an attempt is being made to construct a policy that conflicts with the interests of the other republics and peoples, and of the federation as a whole. The organizing of the rallies is described as demagogy, manipulation of the population, and so on.

If such differences in assessments of the events of recent months are viewed with justifiable alarm by the Federal Government, the international aspects of the crisis cause no less disquiet, since in the Yugoslav political vocabulary the word "Kosovo" is increasingly being compared with Lebanon or Northern Ireland.

Are such comparisons justified? This is a difficult question, and the answer is even more difficult. The Balkans were regarded as Europe's powder keg, the most explosive region of the Old Continent. However, something else is also true, namely that the Balkans at the end of the 20th century are very different. Having grown wise from the lessons of history, the Balkan peoples no longer want war and confrontation, but peace and cooperation. In the Europe after Helsinki, in a Europe where the new political thinking and new political action are increasingly taking root, this is the only possible path. Anything else can only form the prelude to a catastrophe with unforeseeable consequences.

Departing Hungarian Envoy Assesses Relations

AU1810173788 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No 42, 17 Oct 88 p 7

[Interview with Gyula Gyovai, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, by Encho Gospodinov, POGLED political observer: "I Will Miss Vitosha Mountain"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Gospodinov] How do you assess the present state of Bulgarian-Hungarian relations? Are you happy with the way they have developed during your posting?

[Gyovai] The relations between Bulgaria and Hungary go far back into the past, so that one does not have to assess them merely on the basis of the work of a single ambassador in Sofia. I think that it is hardly necessary to remind the Bulgarian readers of our common ancestral home, from which the Magyars and Protobulgarians made their way here, or of how the trials they experienced in the course of their history have affected our own fate in similar ways.

Now we have become very close, and are trying to attain one and the same goals. We are building socialism in similar ways. In my assessment, the economic and political ideas of the Bulgarian people are in the long term the same as those of the Hungarians. Both countries are trying to achieve prosperity in peace and security, and to develop democracy and the rights of man.

[Gospodinov] At the moment, Hungary is a unique kind of laboratory in which many interesting political, economic, and social experiments are being conducted. Could you please tell us about some of the boldest features of these experiments. In addition, do you think that the Hungarian experience is being sufficiently well-studied in the other socialist countries?

[Gyovai] Hungary is indeed making efforts to further improve its system of economic and political institutions. In the economic field, these efforts are principally aimed at more efficient economic development, and in the political field they are aimed at achieving certain reforms, including the expansion of parliamentary democracy. We are consistently concerned with focusing attention on observing legality, in order to make our homeland a state ruled by law.

I am sure that we are moving along the best path.

However, I do not agree with the view that Hungary is serving as some kind of some test laboratory.

Quite the converse, the processes that are arising and taking place in Hungary are the fruit of socialist democracy.

[Gospodinov] We live in the times of restructuring and glasnost. What is your opinion about journalism in Bulgaria and Hungary? Are we succeeding in providing our peoples with timely and detailed information about what is happening in both fraternal countries, or are we still slaves to old stereotypes and methods?

[Gyovai] My answer to the previous question does not contradict something that in any case is a fact—namely, that the politicians and public opinion in Hungary support with complete understanding the processes of transformation that are now under way in the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership. Accordingly, in Hungary there is no opposition in this sense.

With regard to the mass media in Hungary, we are moving with increasing speed toward glasnost, toward open, objective, and honest information. We are glad to find that in Bulgaria you also want to follow in this direction. [passage omitted]

Politburo Approves Results of Phomvihan Visit

AU1410192888 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 14 Oct 88

["High Level of Bulgaro-Lao Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party was briefed by Mr Todor Zhivkov on the results of the

friendly working visit to this country of Mr Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Laos, which took place from September 21 to September 26, 1988. The Politburo approved of the results of the Bulgaro-Lao talks.

The high level of the political relations between the two parties and countries was confirmed.

Complete unity of the positions of the countries on the international problems was ascertained. They support the favourable tendencies in international life.

The two sides assessed highly Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals set forth in Krasnoyarsk for the establishment of a system of security in the region of Asia and the Pacific.

Bulgaria supports completely the peace initiatives of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia oriented toward the settlement of the Cambodian issue through political means and the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and good-neighbour relations in Southeast Asia.

Indian Defense Minister Departs 17 Oct

AU1910121688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] The official and friendly visit to Bulgaria of the Indian military delegation led by Krishna Chandra Pant, Indian minister of defense, has ended. The delegation visited Bulgaria at the invitation of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

The military figures visited Pleven, Varna, Plovdiv, and Sofia, and acquainted themselves with the Bulgarian people's life, and their historical and cultural heritage. They also visited our higher military studies establishments.

Krishna Chandra Pant had talks with Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Andrey Lukanov.

On 17 October the delegation departed from Bulgaria. Deputy ministers, generals, and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army came to the Sofia airport to see the delegation off.

Divya Manchanda, charge d'affaires at the Indian Embassy in Sofia, was also at the airport.

Control-Auditing Commission Plenum Held

AU1410162188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] An expanded plenum of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission was held in Sofia today.

A report on the tasks of the commission and the party's other control-auditing organs relating to fulfilling the decisions of the July 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the BCP National Conference was made by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the commission.

He outlined the directions and tasks for control-auditing work in the conditions of the construction of the new model of socialism in Bulgaria. Special attention was paid to the role and place of control-auditing work in the struggle against negative phenomena and all manifestations that hamper the renewal process.

The plenum adopted a decision on the main directions for renewal of the activity of the control-auditing organs in the spirit of the July Concept.

Officials Released

AU1710160388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] The BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission at its 13 October plenum discussed and approved the requests of Comrades Aleksandur Bogdanov, Asen Marinchevski, Zapryan Tashev, Ivan Delev, and Petur Bozhikov to retire and be relieved of their posts in the Bureau of the Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Comrade Stancho Nikolov, chairman of the Sofia City Control-Auditing Commission, joined the work of the plenum, and was elected a member of the Bureau of the Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Daily Supports Renewal of 'Institutions of Power'

AU1510181188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 88 p 4

[Ivanka Khlebarova article: "Time of Changes"]

[Excerpts] In 1985-86 the communist parties in the socialist countries held their congresses, which defined common tasks of the political development of socialism at the present stage. All the parties set themselves the task of mastering the methods and forms of leadership in managing society, in order to perfect those methods and forms that had proved successful and to reject the outdated ones.

The end of the seventies and start of the eighties saw a fall in economic growth rates in the socialist countries. An acute need arose for changes in economic structure and investment policy. The tempestuous course of the scientific and technical revolution, severe complications in the economic situation, the need to transfer the center of attention from extensive to intensive methods, from quantity to quality, the increased influence of social conditions, and the sharp increase in the role of man all posed the requirement for profound changes in the concept of socialism. In the USSR and the other socialist countries a start was made on devising a new economic strategy.

Restructuring, reform, renewal, acceleration, changes—whatever term the socialist countries use, it is clear that the matter at issue is a transition to a new stage of development.

The foregoing period was complex, contradictory, and connected with crisis situations in some countries.

Changes, and even more far-reaching reforms, did take place in the past, but these were usually limited to improvements in methods of management, without affecting the existing structures or their content. Changes of political leaders also failed to affect the essential features of the socioeconomic system. The reforms rather served as preventative measures aimed at consolidating the existing order. [passage omitted]

Thus, the fraternal countries now face the issue of how to carry out restructuring—by sharp turns in development or through a gradual process. In Hungary and China they talk about implementing the reforms "step by step." Wojciech Jaruzelski writes about renewal as "a gradual dialectical process."

The chief, crucial factor now is, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to create and implement into practice a model of socialism that conforms to the objective natural social laws, the principles of socialism that stem from them, and to communist ideals, with norms and practical approaches that ensure the successful course of restructuring in the socialist countries that have started along this path.

The strategic direction of development in the socialist countries is now the democratization of social life. [passage omitted]

At present, the development of democracy in the USSR and the other socialist countries is acquiring new content. Here one is not merely referring to assimilating the unutilized reserves of one known democratic form or another, but to the qualitatively new participation of the individual in the implementation of government. The rallying cry "Not power in the name of the people, but power through the people" has come to the forefront. In all the fraternal countries the systems of public consultations, polls, and referendums have been expanded. In Hungary and Poland, for example, individual organizations, namely trade unions and popular fronts, are formulating their own proposals and criticizing various official decisions. In Czechoslovakia nine laws have been adopted that create the necessary legislative foundation for restructuring society.

Each one of the socialist countries has chosen for itself the starting point from which to begin its restructuring. The majority of countries have begun with restructuring the system of planning and industrial management.

The USSR has drafted and tested out an economic mechanism for all branches of the national economy. The social orientation in developing the national economy has intensified. Priority is being given to the earliest possible fulfillment of the Food Program and to a sharp increase in consumer goods. In the agricultural field, the way is being opened for efficient land management.

In Mongolia a start is being made on changes in the central planning of crucial branches of the economy. Simultaneously, measures have been taken to extend the independence of the enterprises and the organs of popular power.

China has started with the village. The reform carried out has brought deep and important changes in the life of the Chinese peasant and also exerted an effect upon changes in other fields of economic life.

In most of the countries the role of the market has been enhanced and more flexible forms found for regulation of the economy by the state. This is the experience in Hungary, Poland, and China.

The small portion of the road that we have already traversed has confirmed that restructuring of the economy will not provide the desired growth and efficiency unless the institutions of power are renewed. The profound revolutionary changes mapped out will not be implemented without a political vanguard capable of ideologically and organizationally rallying the best forces of the country and of fully understanding the processes taking place in society. This means that under restructuring the supervisory and guiding role of the party is enhanced. In the USSR, Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, China, and other countries these issues have been posed in a number of party documents and at a number of party plenums. [passage omitted]

The task regarding political reforms has been set in the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, China, and Yugoslavia. This gives us the right to speak of the global, integrated nature of restructuring in the socialist countries. The political experts now confirm that economic requirements have given a powerful impetus for an alteration in our ideas about politics. In a number of countries, the restructuring of the political system is viewed not only as overcoming the contradictions and distortions that have accumulated, but also as a way to establish a much more effective political structure, as the chief condition for making socialism the cause of the whole of the people.

In every one of the fraternal socialist countries, the time for profound socioeconomic changes has come, and each one of them has found its own path, its own terms to define this process most precisely. However, they have one thing in common, namely the immense desire of the people that this process should mark the start of a qualitatively new stage in the development of socialism.

Fojtik Delivers Report on Ideology to Plenum

AU1?10060188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 88 pp 3, 4, 5, 6

["CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Report Delivered by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session held in Prague on 10 October 1988: Developing Ideological Work and Upgrading It to the Level of Present Demands"]

[Text] Comrades, in his opening statement Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, evaluated the developments which our party and society have undergone during the last 6 months. He also explained the necessity of significant cadre changes and of certain organizational changes which we are to decide upon. The agenda of our deliberations also includes issues connected with ideological work. Here we are following up the work of preceding CPCZ Central Committee sessions: the seventh session, which discussed and adopted the program of the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism and of the democratization of our society; the eighth session, which evaluated our country's road of socialist construction during the last 40 years; and the ninth session, which adopted conclusions for restructuring the work of our party.

Our duty is to responsibly and critically assess the standards and effectiveness of ideological work and, in keeping with the conclusions of the 17th congress and the Central Committee sessions mentioned above, to define the main tasks in ideological work. Our main concern is to closely link our ideological work with the actual problems which we have to resolve, and to orient this work toward supporting and consistently implementing the restructuring program. The decisive thing is to make our people grasp both the revolutionary nature and the demands of the present, and to enable them to apply this knowledge to the situation in their workplaces, so that they know how to handle the new approaches to accomplishing tasks on which the further advance of socialism depends. At present our primary task is (and there can be no doubt about this) to consolidate the unity of the party and the people on the ideological platform of restructuring, with the provision that this task must be carried out through joint efforts both from above and below.

Regardless of where they work, all Communists must realize their responsibility for accomplishing this task—and this is particularly true of Communists working on the ideological front, for its role is strikingly enhanced by the necessity to create a democratic atmosphere for the revolutionary transformations connected with the restructuring process, an atmosphere which would stimulate creative thinking and creativity, and also foster the development and utilization of the society's spiritual potential.

In these endeavors we find many valuable ideas, and support and encouragement, in the CPSU's Leninist course. The deliberations of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference have encountered extraordinary interest in our country—the informal working character and inspiring conclusions of this conference were welcomed both by our party and by the broad public. Comrade Milos Jakes has mentioned here today that the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has dealt with the ideas provided by Soviet Communists on several occasions, and that it has issued instructions to work them into the plans of appropriate agencies. They will be also utilized in preparations for the upcoming congress. The conference has underscored the party's role as a revolutionary vanguard of the socialist society, and stressed its duty to head the renewal of Soviet society and to creatively develop Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical and ideological foundation of restructuring. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said in the CPSU Central Committee's report to the conference: "We are convinced of the viability of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which has scientifically proven that it is possible to create a society of social justice, and a civilization of free people with equal rights. This is also our aim in carrying out the revolutionary restructuring."

The CPCZ has been professing its allegiance to Marxist-Leninist theory since its very inception. It has based the revolutionary transformations of our society on a scientific doctrine: on the ideology of the most significant and most progressive social force, i.e., the workers' class. Unforgettable merit was won in this respect by Klement Gottwald, who knew how to creatively develop this doctrine and how to apply it to the specific historical conditions in Czechoslovakia. And this was the basis of successes achieved in the socialist construction in our country. The course of this socialist construction has confirmed time and again that the generally valid theory of Marxism-Leninism is not a set of dogmas to be sworn by, and that it is not enough to merely proclaim it. Rather, it must be constantly enriched with experience, and developed and mastered in harmony with the needs of our life. It is only thus that it can serve as a real instrument of a purposeful and principled policy, which keeps in step with developments and corresponds to the people's basic interests.

We must realize this particularly today, as we enter a new stage—the stage of restructuring all spheres of the society's life—and we must develop ideological work accordingly, imbuing it with greater creativeness, with a sense of the specific, of reality, with greater courage to seek replies to the questions of today, and to overcome the ideas, habits, and approaches standing in the way of our progress.

Working People's Attitude Toward Restructuring Is Decisive [subhead]

Comrades, the party's Central Committee dealt in general with ideological issues at its session in March 1980. Although this was not so long ago, quite a lot has changed

since then. The conclusions adopted at that time were correct ones, although they paid tribute to the times. The most important of them sound topical even today. Of paramount importance was their emphasis on achieving unity of words and deeds, on linking theory and practice, and on interlinking ideological work with our political-organizational and management activities. The conclusions stressed that it is essential to carry out systematic mass political work as the most effective form of daily contact with the people, and to win and consolidate the people's confidence in the party's policy. They underscored the task to approach ideological work comprehensively and to cultivate the people's world outlook simultaneously with educating them toward morality and labor. They instructed the Communists in all sectors (particularly the Communists among the executive staff in the economic sphere) to participate in this work. And these demands have truly lost none of their urgency.

However, we must admit that we have failed to establish the necessary conditions for meeting these demands everywhere—far from it. To tell the truth, the extensive approaches (so widespread in economy, and also elsewhere), together with the administrative and directive forms of management, have been narrowing down the scope for the proper development of our ideological work. The growing problems in the economic and social sphere (and particularly their inconsistent solution) have greatly curtailed the effectiveness of this work. However, this cannot justify the shortcomings in ideological work itself—all the ideological campaigns coupled (as a rule) with formalism, ideological work isolated from practical life and reduced to exhortations, etc. Whenever propaganda starts preaching about things which our everyday life is disproving in every step, it not only ceases to fulfill its function, but it can even produce undesirable reactions. This is precisely what has repeatedly happened in the past and what we can still encounter on many occasions. True, social awareness is primarily determined by the material conditions of the people's lives. However, this basic Marxist truth must on no account lead to a disparagement of the role and responsibility of ideological work; this applies particularly to theory and propaganda. Ideological work is greatly to blame for the fact that many ideas (which life had overcome) continued to spread and to take root; that the shortcomings which kept cropping up were belittled and their causes incorrectly interpreted; and that unjustified complacent and carefree attitudes were permitted to spread instead of being critically analysed with the widest possible involvement of the professional public, instead of mobilizing forces to overcome them. Although there were general calls for a critically demanding attitude, the criticism was frequently ineffective and no conclusions were drawn from it in the places where this was most necessary.

The restructuring which we have begun is opening vast possibilities for an offensive campaign on the ideological front—for an informal development of political-organizational and management activities of the party, of National Front organizations, and of agencies of the people's power, as well as for combining these activities with political-organizational and management work in all sectors. This is only logical. The restructuring of individual social spheres cannot be carried out without restructuring the people's way of thinking, overcoming various stereotypes, and grasping the new needs and requirements set up by the development process. In this way the individual sectors of ideological activity (such as theory, propaganda, agitation, and so forth) are confronted by a number of unprecedented and complicated tasks. We must approach these tasks responsibly, learn to see many problems with new eyes, and reassess all kinds of things. In other words, we must get rid of habitual but ineffective approaches; take into account the people's views with the utmost attention; conduct an open dialogue with them; and, instead of making categorical statements, offset the people's doubts and one-sided but obviously incorrect views with conclusions which have been thoroughly argued out.

We are not and cannot be indifferent toward the way our people understand restructuring and view the reasons which have led us to adopt it. It is not, it cannot be immaterial to us whether they see how necessary, how essential restructuring is in view of our development, and also how complicated it will be to carry it out, how essential it will be to proceed in a well-considered, prudent manner, one which must not be threatened by a lack of restraint. It is not, it cannot be a matter of indifference to us how far they have realized what demands the restructuring will be placing on them.

The studies which have been carried out (their results are at your disposal) show that our people largely link restructuring with the need finally to eliminate the relatively high lack of thrift and the disorder and abuses in our national economy. However, they are worried not only by what they see around them; they also think of Czechoslovakia's future, of socialism's further prospects. They have welcomed the conclusions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session as proof that the party leadership realizes its responsibility for the further development of our society and that, despite the differences and peculiarities in our own country and in the Soviet Union, the party leadership wants to show the same consistency in resolving problems in our country by accelerating socioeconomic development on the basis of the intensification and of a profound democratization of the society, as well as by restructuring the economic mechanism and the entire management system. People do not want any half-baked measures; they demand the consistent elimination of administrative-bureaucratic management methods, the implementation of the Leninist principle of open policy, and a wide flow of information. For instance, many critical comments have reached us from places where the director was elected on the basis of a single candidacy, or where the establishment of a new enterprise was regarded merely as a matter of changing a plant's name. The cuts in administrative staff are also carefully followed. Such basic restructuring ideas

as enhancing the powers of enterprises and cooperative organizations and the responsibilities linked with them; developing self-management in working collectives and establishing (within its framework) the councils of working collectives; intensifying the working people's participation in management; deepening the interest of individuals and collectives in the results of their work by making them personally responsible for the development and state of the sectors entrusted to them; and making it the duty of all executive staff to render accounts to the broad public—all these have been received with satisfaction.

These views can be regarded as the prevailing, authoritative views which testify to the opportunities existing for ideological work. We must energetically implement the adopted program and the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions; we must not lose time, but at the same time we must responsibly weigh our steps. Hopes are usually bound to illusions, to a tendency to ignore difficulties—which, as a rule, prove to be far more serious than they seemed at the start; such tendencies go hand in hand with efforts to skip whole stages of development. We have had to pay for this on many past occasions. And at this point, too, we must counter the notion that the fundamental changes ahead of us can be carried out within a short period, and that it is sufficient for the center to adopt a couple of laws and decisions to achieve this. Were such notions to spread, they would lead to a demobilization—in the long run this would strengthen bureaucratic methods of command and faith in the center's omnipotence. Sooner or later this would lead to disillusionment.

What we must on no account overlook is the people's dissatisfaction with the course of restructuring. We have quite a number of such dissatisfied people, who say that although we talk and write a lot about restructuring, the situation does not change and the difficulties in our national economy are as serious as ever—and even growing deeper. Doubts are being cast on the democratization process, and criticism is reaching us from various places: people say that it is unclear how the restructuring will continue, that no political and organizational provisions have been made for it in advance, etc. They do not believe that the management sphere is honestly striving to carry out fundamental changes; this is naturally expressed in a certain mistrust in the state and economic agencies, and in the people's attitude toward the party's policy (despite the positive reception given to the conclusions of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions).

There are several reasons for such an attitude—it can be the result of an inadequate grasp of the complicated problems which we are currently coping with; it can also be the result of a malicious lack of information or of unfortunate experience. It can be based on conservatism or on indifference, and in some cases even on hostility to our system. A particularly negative impact is produced by our failure to accomplish the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in terms of quality, in the way we need, and as defined by the congress directive. The arrears in the rate at which our national income is increasing are also considerable. Despite the proclaimed programs for intensification, our development is still considerably extensive, which carries in its wake a high rate of production consumption (although, in relation to the past, this has dropped relatively). The failure to accomplish the planned tasks and the growth of immobilized inventories have led to a deterioration of the situation in supplier-consumer relations; in certain places it is very tense and is causing breakdowns in the organization of prices, while problems in the consumer goods market have not diminished but have even grown.

Recently the Central Committee Presidium and the Secretariat have been devoting a great deal of attention to this situation. Certain extraordinary measures have been adopted (and the public has been informed about them). We are also aware that any intensification of the imbalance of our national economy in the present situation would inevitably retard the restructuring process and make the transition of enterprises to total economic accountability [Russian term "khozraschet" used] more difficult. That is why we must devote far more attention to the fulfillment of planned quality indicators throughout the management sphere, why we must tighten organizational work and not permit discipline to become slack anywhere at all. We will keep a close watch over the way the adopted measures are being implemented, and draw the strictest conclusions whenever they are treated irresponsibly. Attitudes of marking time represent a considerable psychological obstacle in restructuring. No matter what their cause, or where they occur, we cannot become resigned to them. It is the concern of communists in the governments, in economic and state agencies, in trade unions, and elsewhere—in fact, the concern of the entire aktiv of functionaries—to carry everybody along by their own example in adopting an energetic approach to the tasks. At present this is the most important thing for successfully progressing in restructuring, and the best possible agitation for it.

Our whole party must focus attention on the working man's attitude to restructuring. Our current ideological work must also concentrate on this—it must primarily be based on the method of encouraging people and spreading positive examples, particularly examples that are part of our first experience in restructuring. Without wanting to simplify matters, we can say that we can find such examples in quite a lot of workplaces. And at times they are literally begging to be noted. In these workplaces a new atmosphere is being born—a truly demanding atmosphere, an atmosphere of mutual control, creativity, and initiative. Here the working collectives are interested not only in the way the enterprise's profit is distributed and in the percentage that will fall to wages and bonuses, but also in finding out how to make the enterprise profitable on a long-term basis, in knowing about its prospects and whether it will be producing products that are in demand, and in learning what use it

will be for society. We are convinced that this process (in which the working people consolidate their position as responsible and prudent economists with respect to their own enterprise and to social property) will continue to develop. It is precisely this that will determine the rate of restructuring (and not mere bureaucratic measures, although they, too, may be important); and this must also be the starting point for our propaganda and our mass political work.

All the instruments of ideological activity, and the mass media in particular, must help us to expand and master the knowledge of how the new elements of the economic mechanism now being introduced operate—to expand and master the experience generally acquired in restructuring. In recent years economic issues have become firmly anchored in the mass media; this is a good thing, for economic propaganda and agitation will become increasingly important. One must, however, keep an eye on standards everywhere. Superficiality and generalizations are still tolerated in many places. The decisive thing is to make prominent experts and our leading economic staff at all management levels become fully involved in economic propaganda and agitation. The main propagators and agitators of restructuring should be people who are doing it, people who see not only its goals, but also its individual stages. The ministers, or the leading staff of ministerial branches, should appear regularly on television and radio, and make statements in the main press organs. They must not regard this task as a burden; it must become part of the modern socialist method of management, and they must regard it as their natural duty, which also reflects their responsibility to society. So far our experience in this respect has been less than positive. Some of the recent pronouncements made on television by federal government ministers and the ministers of the national governments have produced a negative echo. In making such pronouncements one must not evade urgent problems, or make excuses while explaining them. It is completely unacceptable for the statements to create uncertainty among the public. As well as overcoming the bureaucratic command methods of management, we must all learn about the policy of publicity—about the thing our Soviet comrades call "glasnost".

It is important for everyone in our country to realize that in our country restructuring is an unescapable [neodvratny] process that affects all aspects of society's life. This was clearly said as far back as the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session. We have begun restructuring in the awareness that many obstacles have accumulated also on our own road, and that they must be unhesitatingly removed if our present difficulties are not to intensify. We must overcome everything that is hampering the development of our socialist society, threatening it, and preventing us from adequately responding to the call of the scientific-technical revolution and from meeting the demands set by the scientifically substantiated forecasts. Instead of activating the braking mechanisms, we must set the stimulative mechanisms into motion, and we must establish conditions for making full use of the advantages and opportunities of socialism, for further developing socialism, and for consistently continuing the revolutionary process set off by February 1948.

We are not concerned with partial changes, be they ever so correct and progressive. Restructuring is a comprehensive program involving not only a fundamental change of our economic mechanism and of the whole system of planning and management in the national economy, but also an extensive democratization of the society, a substantial improvement in the forms of its political guidance, and deep transformations of cultural (and general spiritual) life. We proceed from Marxist-Leninist dialectics, from the realization that if the socialist society is to develop in harmony with the laws that are characteristic of it, it must be constantly renewed and not allowed to set into rigid contours. This also establishes the starting positions of restructuring as a process which is to free our way to deep knowledge and the correct use of objective laws governing the development of socialism. This makes our policy and the party's entire ideological work both principled and constructive, orienting it toward supporting and initiating deep social changes and a creative and responsible solution to problems posed by life.

New Type of Central Management and Planning [subhead]

Comrades, prominent among the basic social transformations is the restructuring of our economic mechanism, the economic reform.

We realize that it cannot be postponed. The predominantly extensive type of economic development, which was (to a certain extent) justified in the past, has exhausted its possibilities; its continuation is becoming an increasingly harmful anachronism. This is also why the party's 17th congress decided that economic and social advancement must be radically accelerated, and the required changes in the system of management and planning of our national economy carried out.

After having learned from our own past and from the experience of other socialist countries, we are now about to tackle the economic reform. We know that its successful implementation depends on our intensifying the party's leading role on the basis of broad democratization, that it depends on our correctly applying the Leninist concept of relations between politics and the economy, consistently adhering to the principle of democratic centralism, prudently linking the plan with the market, respecting the law of values, but also every other, objectively operating economic law, and taking into account the realistic interests of society, collectives and individuals, and of territories and localities.

The basic changes in implementing the adopted economic reform proceed from this awareness. Naturally, if the enterprise sphere is to be based on total economic accountability, a new type of central management and planning must be created. The Seventh CPCZ Central Committee defined in general terms the duties of the center under the new economic conditions. One of our most significant, but also most difficult, tasks is to specify and elaborate these duties. Our economic science (as well as other scientific branches) must be actively involved in this.

The thing is to resolve a whole set of problems, such as a new system of incentives, pricing, a new definition of the relationship between central planning and the activities of the enterprise sphere, etc. Nothing can be achieved here by hurrying—everything must be based on serious analysis. We must proceed with great circumspection, without permitting the role and authority of the center to be weakened. Our country, in which the economy reacts most sensitively to all outside influences, cannot afford to remove bureaucratic centralism simultaneously with dismantling democratic centralism. Total economic accountability does not envisage a narrowing down of the role of the center, its degradation to a kind of auxiliary service of the enterprise sphere. It does not mean in the least a weakening of the role of central management—it is only the outdated methods and forms that must be changed. The national economy must be managed according to a uniform plan.

Like the consistent and undistorted implementation of the party's leading role in the economy, this, too, is one of the basic principles of socialist economy. Relations between the center and the enterprises must be arranged so as not to restrict the powers and independence of enterprises (as stipulated by law); however, the integrity of our national economy must also not be threatened.

Our purpose in introducing the economic reform is to raise the quality of our country's socioeconomic development. The aim and strategic goal of the reform is to provide for a further improvement of our people's living standards in harmony with their growing needs. We are concerned with establishing general economic conditions, in which the incomes of enterprises would stem from corresponding labor productivity, quality, and the technical parameters and desirable range of products—and not from unjustified price increases, violations of supplier-consumer relations, pseudo-innovations, etc. It is only under these conditions (which cannot be determined by the sphere of economic accountability alone) that the independence of enterprises will stimulate their socially beneficial initiative and their search for all that is new and progressive, and also activate their employees to become true economic managers in our socialist state. It is no secret that if the roads toward achieving enterprise incomes by methods lacking a national economic substantiation are kept open, the economic pressure of the reform is not reflected in a real growth of effectiveness, but in inflationary tendencies.

We must not close our eyes to any of the risks of the reform. Superficial journalism, and I am not talking just about Czechoslovak authors, belittles or completely suppresses some of them while dramatizing others. Ignoring them would be equally irresponsible as exaggerating them and spreading fear of reform. The attainment of a new quality of socioeconomic growth is a task from which we must not back away; and avoiding serious problems in the process is impossible. The changes involved are, after all, fundamental, and they can only be tackled—I stress this again—in cooperation between the center and the economically accountable enterprise sphere.

The first and foremost aim is to orient the economy in principle toward the final results of national economic development. The efficiency of economic activity must find its expression in the growing volume, expedient structure, and high quality of national income as the main source of raising and improving people's living standards, improving their working conditions, successfully resolving ecological problems, and carrying out necessary scientific-technical and structural changes in the economy and in the life of society in general. What matters is effecting a turn toward a comprehensive and dynamically advancing intensification of the national economy on the basis of a wide-ranging practical use of the gains of the scientific-technical revolution. A new and higher quality of socioeconomic development can only be reached through the permanent improvement of socialist production and other social relations, which substantially influence socioeconomic development. In other words, the point is to incessantly improve the forms and methods of management and planning, and to enhance the labor and self-management activity of the working people, labor collectives, and citizens in economic organizations and at their places of residence.

It is apparent at first glance that such changes cannot be carried out without deep and often even conflict-ridden interventions into labor organization; that they place completely new demands on managerial personnel, research and development staff, as well as workers; that in one way or another they are bound to affect everyone. It is necessary to reckon with this, as well as with the fact that these changes will run up against the psychological barrier of inertia and stereotypes and habits developed over the years of the administrative-command type of management—this will require initiative—only within the framework of the fulfillment of instructions. This type of management has taught many people to assimilate a peculiar opportunist passivity and to adapt to situations when, as a matter of fact, it suited them fine that someone else made the decisions and bore the responsibility for them. Comfort-seeking, buck-passing, and the fear of becoming involved in conflicts and taking a risk in the interest of a good cause—these are not just personal failings but, at the same time, social phenomena. They cannot be combatted by means of ideological influence alone but, above all, by purposefully transforming the environment that breeds them.

It is also for this reason that economic reform is indispensable. However, its very implementation presupposes an active approach to the tasks which it maps out. Nothing could be more erroneous than limiting this approach just to the changes concerning the mechanism of economic ties itself, such as determining the number and nature of criteria, reworking the planning methodology, reorganizing the production base and managerial agencies, cutting administrative staff, and the like. Measures of this sort must not be underrated—neither their technical nor their political aspects. However, they are but an instrument for carrying out profound changes in the economic and social standing of the crucial economic subjects—labor collectives and individuals. We must not lose sight of this ultimate goal. The starting idea and driving force of the reform, which also underlies the reform's ideology, is the real possibility of satisfying the socioeconomic interests of the working people and creating conditions in which every member of society tries to put his abilities to the best possible use in socially beneficial activity and, thereby, to realize himself in life.

This calls for focusing our work primarily on shaping a new attitude of people toward social ownership, an attitude befitting true managers whose basic position is determined by the unity of their personal and collective interests with the interests of society at large.

The first and fundamental step in the direction of making the working people managers of social property was taken with the nationalization of production assets. This standing of the working people as managers was strengthened in the process of socialist construction, in connection with the elimination of the exploiting classes and of exploitation. However, the administrative-command methods of management, especially the rigid centralism in planning, resulted in a certain alienation of people from social ownership, which has found its expression in such negative manifestations as indiscipline, indifference, and wasteful management. Not by coincidence did V. I. Lenin warn that the formation of a committed attitude toward work is one of the most important, yet simultaneously one of the most difficult, tasks of the revolution.

We are, however, considerably in arrears in living up to this task. Although we have proclaimed high-quality, honest, and socially beneficial work the paramount value of socialism and the factor on which the formation of the socialist way of life is based, it is precisely in this cardinal issue that we often tolerate a complete discrepancy between what we preach and the actual reality. The economic reform should contribute to overcoming this discrepancy. Therein lies its significant social and moral function. It will, however, discharge this function only if we create the proper atmosphere for it. Everywhere, we must support and provide material as well as moral incentives for high-quality, conscientious, and efficient work while penalizing work that is of poor quality and performed sloppily and superficially. To combat the trend toward mediocrity that is making itself felt, we must literally cultivate in the entire society the cult of high-quality work, and do so not only by means of general propaganda and on festive occasions.

This was also the clear tenor of the recent All-Trade Union Conference of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which fully endorsed the current policy line of the party. It also stressed the growing importance of competition, precisely at present, for whose development new conditions are being created. The chief orientation of competition must be determined by the general effort to raise the quality of work and products so as to increase the share of those products that can hold their own in competition with the best specimen in the world. In this context, we must give full support to the movement of innovators, to everyone who comes up with inspiring ideas, and renew the ideal of a thoroughly done professional job and the feeling of pride in one's profession. That, too, is the reform's purpose.

The question of quality must be brought into the focus of propaganda and political-educational work. We must not forget that this question is closely connected with the attitude of people toward socialism, that it has a strong ideological aspect. In historical perspective, it holds generally true that social orders gain the upper hand by virtue of labor productivity. The development of production forces and the nature of production relations corresponding to them determine historical progress. Historical progress means better performance and quality. It is apparent that present-day capitalism, which, however, cannot be generally evaluated according to what it represents in a few highly advanced countries, still has considerable potential for development in this respect. It has tapped this potential, and is multiplying it further by applying the results of the scientific-technical revolution on a broad scale. Such is reality, which we cannot deny. Anti-communism bases on it its arguments about the superiority of capitalism over socialism, about its "natural right" to a future. It even sees in the reforms being implemented in the socialist countries a chance to confirm this right forever. It interprets these changes as a return to the mechanism of incentives that was created by the system of private ownership and the political superstructure corresponding to this system—bourgeois democracy with its notion of rights and liberties. Let us therefore not be surprised that it takes such intense interest in, and shows such concern for, restructuring in the Soviet Union and also in other socialist countries. However, the point is, actually, that the changes of principle that we are beginning to implement pursue exactly the opposite aim—the formation of a socialist attitude toward work, a new type of work discipline, and a new and more effective mechanism of incentives.

The rush for profits, the merciless rules of competition, and the constant threat of losing one's job—all of them linked with social humiliation, which is completely unknown in our society—are unusually strong motives for raising the intensity, efficiency, and accuracy of one's job performance. We are convinced, however, that a far

firmer and more lasting, because it is humane, foundation for man's comprehensive activity and initiative is rooted in his social standing under socialism, provided he can really feel as the manager of his country. That is what we must strive for today—to create conditions in which man is forced to act as a prudent manager who is charged with a certain responsibility, but who is simultaneously aware of his share of responsibility for the whole of which he is a member.

Economic accountability is not meant to confine the working man's range of vision to the walls of his factory, but designed to harmonize his interests with the interests of society through the medium of the labor collective's interests. The responsibility of propaganda is precisely to form in people such a broad range of vision going beyond personal and group interests, and to make them think in national economic categories and act from the viewpoint of national interests.

We see therein an important part of education toward democracy, which we understand as a combination of rights and duties, of independent creative activity and discipline arising from the awareness of responsibility. Claims are often heard today that we allegedly want to limit restructuring to the most necessary changes in the economy, that we do not intend to expand scope for democracy; this is malicious but well-thought-out slander. These claims completely ignore that our concept of democracy has nothing in common with the ideas of those who are looking forward to some liberalization, chaos, and confusion. We experienced such "democracy" before, and we do not have the least reason to go back to it. We are not implementing restructuring in order to be liked by our opponents and critics. We bear in mind—and this will determine our every future step—the interest of society, the people, and socialism. The initiative of the people can bring fruit only where conscious discipline and order prevail.

Profound Structural Changes [subhead]

Comrades,

the economic reform requires the acquisition of new knowledge and new approaches in theory and practice. Economic science and propaganda based on objective analyses and the most accurate data and reliable statistics must play a key part in their formation. One of the most urgent tasks at present is to come to terms with the extreme currents of thought as regards the prospects and the feasibility of economic reform.

This concerns, in particular, the underestimation of the real strength and potentials of the Czechoslovak economy. Some Western economists, but particularly journalists, increasingly classify our economy as being closer to developing than advanced countries. In the absence of well-informed confrontation, which is made rather more difficult by the deficiencies of statistics, but also by ignorance of them, these tendentiously distorted views spread with relative ease in our society and, in some strata of our society, they give rise to doubts about the further development of our economy. People's experience, however, also plays a role, especially the fact that they constantly come across all kinds of problems which must seem completely incomprehensible to them and even absurd, given the development level of our economy (it suffices to mention the growing number of products that are in short supply). This is the source from which springs the radicalism of some people who call for a drastic reform with bankruptcies and unemployment, with a sharp rise in the prices of food and rents and with inflation in general, coupled with the immediate transition to the general convertibility of our currency and so forth. There is not even a lack of views to the effect that socialism has failed, and that it is necessary to return to the capitalist system of private ownership, which requires a change in the political system in its entire substance.

On the other hand, ideas that are rooted in the past and conform to the extensive type of economic management linger on. As it frequently happens when one extreme feeds another, the fear is usually voiced in this case that the reform might lead to the disruption of the socialist foundations of society. Here, too, experience understandably plays a role. However, this does not in the least alter the fact that the greatest threat to these foundations would today be posed by, above all, a rigid view of the reality and narrow-minded subjectivism that prevents one from discerning the main direction of changes in the world and also in the Czechoslovak economy. This view also loses sight of the fact that the mighty industrial potential that we have built is shackled by an antiquated system of management and structure of the economy. The rightly placed emphasis on the continuity of socialist construction must be coupled with the unconditional need to shed everything that has become obsolete and either slows down our advancement or is pulling us back.

Understandably, overcoming old structures of production and discarding economically inefficient operations is in some sectors connected with a reduction in the number of jobs. This not only cannot be avoided but, in the long term, this development must be regarded as desirable and should not be delayed. It will be necessary, however, to proceed in a highly responsible and planned fashion, and to overcome problems through timely retraining and the creation of social conditions for transfer to other sectors of the economy, sectors which we need. Following their requalification, the released employees can find employment, above all, in progressive branches determining the intensification of the national economy and the application of scientific-technical progress. We must also reinforce services, the fields of science, computer science, transportation, and communications.

The question of planning and the concept of the national economic plan in general, too, are connected with this. Without a scientifically-founded prognosis and an overall purposeful orientation of the national economy

toward a progressive, dynamic, and balanced development, it will scarcely be possible to deal with the problem of deep structural and qualitative changes, with the problem of what to develop and what to phase out, and to prepare and ensure a development that will be subordinated to the needs and interests of the people. From this arises the need to prepare in due time the main investment decisions and programs of key significance. The plan must express the interests of the people, be an instrument of society's social interest structures [byt nastrojem socialnich zajmovych struktur spolecnosti] and of the economy's upward development, and it must respect ecological considerations. Social development must be accelerated through the use of the socialist market. Regrettably, questions concerning unity between the plan and the market, albeit they are among the most important questions, are the least clarified ones. This, too, represents a certain risk for the reform process. Economic science in concert with seasoned experts from the field of practice must repay its debt in this regard as soon as possible. These questions must be in the forefront of theoretical research; the concentration of creative forces on them must now be given priority.

The problem of prices is, no doubt, the key issue of the reform. A position of principle on it was assumed by the 17th congress, and there is no reason to call it into question. The simplified view is prevalent among some economists that an increase in retail prices to the level of the present actual costs is part of the reform. However, the problem does not lie in subsidized products, but in high costs. Its solution must be seen in the creation of economic conditions that will make it possible to resist the squandering of investments, labor, energy, and materials, thereby limiting the need for excessive subsidies. It is generally true that the prices of all products—including the prices of consumer goods, the setting of which must be influenced by demand to a greater extent—should in the end correspond to costs, that is, of course, socially unavoidable costs. It is thus unacceptable to tolerate the existing high costs and to shift the burden of their solution to the shoulders of the population. We see the main thrust of our endeavor in bringing such pressure to bear on the production sphere as a reduction of costs and in the availability of a great variety of products of high utility value, so that the working people can buy for their honestly earned money goods of a corresponding quality.

With this is also connected the need to ensure harmony between the extent of work and the extent of consumption so as to avoid serious disproportions between the supply of goods and the population's ability to purchase. Ignoring this requirement, to the importance of which V. I. Lenin very emphatically drew attention, leads, as practical experience shows, to the appearance of parallel economic structures and a black market, speculations and phenomena that disturb not only the stability of the national economy, but also cause social tensions, and produce new social differentiations, which are in contradiction to socialism. Therefore, it is so important to conduct a well-considered and vigilant wage and price policy, which respects the interest of the workers class and the working people.

An exceptionally important issue is the condition of our being well-prepared for the deepening of socialist economic integration and for contributing to it. The closest possible ties with the Soviet economy, in particular, are of absolutely vital importance to us. Therefore, in the interest of that, we must rapidly create conditions for establishing direct relations and setting up joint ventures. In the enterprises we must be much more energetic and lose no time in getting ready to conclude concrete specialization and cooperation agreements that are bilaterally advantageous and lead to the efficiency of the two economies. At the same time we must create the necessary prerequisites for this in the central bodies. We face new tasks in connection with the formation of a common socialist market.

We also seek more flexible and more efficient forms of economic relations with the capitalist states.

We rightly associate socialism with democracy. Equally, if the future is to belong to it, and we are profoundly convinced that it will, socialism must be organically connected with science. The edge that the most developed capitalist states have in that sphere must arouse us to speedily create optimal conditions for developing science and resolutely eliminating obstacles that stand in the way of such development, whether they consist of obsolescent forms of the management of science, or noncomprehension of its priority role in respect to production and its social mission in general. In our country, too, it must finally be clear that we can no longer afford to underestimate the role of science and not to see that any practical issue of importance can be resolved only on the basis of scientific analysis.

We proceed from the assumption that the economic reform will exert the desired pressure to link practice with science. Stimulating economic work and creating a social atmosphere that is favorable for this work must go hand in hand with it. Precisely under these new conditions it will be necessary to expand and develop the propagation of science, skilled enlightenment activity, in the way—by the way—it is being carried out by thousands of members of the scientific-technical society and the Socialist Academy. This is exceptionally meritorious work, and we must fully support it.

One-and-half years ago, the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee session discussed issues connected with linking science with technology and the economy and implementing scientific-technical development in the interest of intensification of our economy. In view of the fact that the conclusions of the session are being implemented insufficiently, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has decided to address this state of affairs at one of its future sessions. Even now it is necessary to begin analyzing the management of the entire scientific-research

base. As can be seen, the needs of restructuring require that when implementing a uniform state science and technological policy proceeding from long-term forecasts of the development of society, especially in the socioeconomic sphere, we must employ such methods and forms of management work as will constitute a marked shift away from administrative-directive management to conceptually perceived coordination. This coordination must be based on a well-thought-out division of work between basic research, applied research, the production sphere, and social practice, and it must orient science and practice toward founding and developing fundamental innovations.

Social Orientation of the Economy [subhead]

Comrades; the 17th CPCZ Congress emphasized the social orientation of the economy, and also social policy stimulating the economic development and the growth of labor productivity. We must pursue an active social policy, one that convinces citizens that the principle of social justice is applied in our society, and that the main criterion for assessing man is his work for society.

There is no doubt that social policy is one of the most convincing arguments attesting to the advantages of socialism. The construction of socialism has changed the social status of the working man from its very foundations; deep class and social differences have disappeared; these were differences which set whole social strata against each other and were one of the constant sources of nationality conflicts, and of excessive luxury and supercilious attitudes on the one hand, and of misery, poverty, and humiliation on the other. In our country all this is a thing of the past. Our society is characterized by fairly high common starting conditions for the life and work of the people, by an entire complex of achievements and types of security, which have become a natural part of our citizens' lives. What is involved is the extensively implemented right to work, the solid standard of and generally accessible education and culture, the developed system of social security, assistance to families with children, free medical care, the ensured rest after work, and so on.

At the same time we are aware that we cannot stop at these achievements, which are generally regarded as being matter-of-fact. The structure of people's needs is constantly developing. We must expect that. Without everyday and efficient care for the people, for their working and living conditions, we cannot increase the standard of the economy and enrich the cultural-intellectual sphere. On the other hand, however, we cannot permit a situation in which the disproportionate extent of services and advantages restrains the interest of employees in economic results and the overall performance of the economy.

Egalitarianism, the infringement on the principle of remuneration according to work done—according to its quantity and quality, social importance, and final results—are the main obstacles that stand in the way of an uncompromising implementation of social justice as the fundamental principle of social policy. Until economic instruments, together with management practice, bring about a clear turn in the assessment of work according to real merit and demonstrable results in work collectives, we will not be able to eradicate the roots from which egalitarianism grows. The application of greater differentiation in remuneration is the source of renewed faith in social justice. At the same time, it is an instrument for developing the intiative and activity of the working people.

Providing for fair differences in remuneration, which in turn result in different possibilities of satisfying needs, cannot be perceived as a revival of "petty bourgeois private property psychology." This ideological prejudice must be eliminated. It is one of the conditions for the successful functioning of the new economic mechanism. This will not be easy, as is shown by examples from prominent workplaces, where—precisely on the basis of a suitable and sensitive combination of individual, group, and social interests, and well-thought-out work motivation—they are achieving exceptional results, and where they also foster selflessness and conscious work discipline through the means of remuneration. To illustrate this conclusion we could cite a long list of workplaces—brigades of socialist labor, and collectives from all fields of activity. Let us recall, in particular, the Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative of Slusovice. How many discussions have we had about it? There were even voices warning of "Bata-ism" [referring to prewar Czech industrialist Tomas Bata], of attempts to restore methods of private entrepreneurship. We do not want to say that the Agrokombinat excels in everything; it is obvious that we could find shortcomings even there. However, there is one thing we cannot deny the Slusovice team: They have been demonstrating unequivocally and for a long time the pace at which scientific-technical development can be implemented in practice and how to achieve high international standards. Their consistently worked-out system of intraenterprise management efficiently motivates not only work collectives, but also every individual to socialist entrepreneurship, to feelings of being a cocreator of the enterprise's concrete results. And they are not alone in this effort. The Sala united agricultural cooperative, the Otice united agricultural cooperative in the Opava district, and other enterprises, too, are doing similarly well.

One also has to correctly perceive individual labor activity that is based not on exploitation, but rather on the full utilization of the work capability and know-how of those individuals and members of their families who, with initiative, are willing to satisfy demand, especially where, for the time being, it is not adequately ensured by social production or services. Individual labor activity is also a part of socialism, too. We support it, and we will—under the state's supervision—expand it further, especially in the interest of improving such badly needed services for the population.

The principle of social equality is the pivotal idea of scientific socialism. We do not lose sight of this when implementing our policy; our ideal is to create a classless society. The ideology of the economic reform, in which we proceed from various interests of the working people, has nothing in common with "social Darwinism," which is today again being spread by neoconservatives in the West. However, we do not view the process of the birth of the classless society as the formation of some sort of homogenous society, one in which man's personality is lost in a formless mass. This is the idea that is being tenaciously spread about communism and socialism by its enemies, who arrogate to themselves the sole right to defend democracy, freedoms, and the rights of man, precisely against socialism and communism. This one of the greatest paradoxes of contemporary history. It is socialism and communism which for the first time based these freedoms and rights on realistic foundations by eliminating exploitation and social antagonisms. Of course, one has to admit that the various deformations of socialism, which have and do occur during its construction—including egalitarianism, which is a gross vulgarization of the principle of social equality, and which ultimately provides the basis for social demagoguery and petty bourgeois envy—play into the hands of our opponents.

The extensive discussion of the amendment of the Labor Code, the culmination of which was the all-trade union conference of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, revealed that the majority of people are against egalitarianism, that they view it as a serious violation of the principle of social justice, as an obstacle which prevents the appreciation of exceptional performance and skilled work, as well as the prosecution of slipshod work and sloppy workers. The Labor Code, it was stressed in the discussion, must protect those who work honestly and well; its purpose is not to guarantee security to all regardless of their personal effort and contribution to society. We have to say goodbye to the idea of social security which removes not only the worry about tomorrow, but also the care and coresponsibility for ensuring that tomorrow.

The discussion also expressed fundamental opposition to the toleration of such antisocial phenomena as parasitism, unlawful incomes and unearned profits, and enrichment to the detriment of others. We cannot ignore the fact that dissatisfaction with the inconsistent solution of similar phenomena is increasing.

Social policy is a part of our effort to create a socialist way of life, man's comprehensive development, and the opportunity for him to assert himself at work and after work. We must proceed in it from an entire package of needs, interests, and from the system of the values of society at a given level of development. None of this must be neglected, nor must we set false priorities. It does not pay to ignore problems in the housing economy, transportation, trade, or all areas in which the satisfying of man's most basic needs is being decided. However, we also must not lose sight of his interests, the satisfying of which incorporates him into society, gives his work and life purpose, leads him to behave actively and creatively, to decisions to not be indifferent to what is going on around him, to what he considers to be wrong.

It is obvious that molding such an active attitude—the stability of which is ensured by the depth of conviction provided by the value system and outlook on life—will be impossible without ideological confrontation. In this one must come to terms with people's unrealistic, maximalist demands, as well with displays of petty bourgeoism, with the consumerist attitude to life and, also, with various influences of hostile propaganda, which readily exploits our shortcomings in everyday life to raise doubts about the ideological and moral foundations of our policy and its general success.

In our country, too, we must overcome attitudes which result from the so-called leftover principle, in which social and cultural needs are given only what is left over. It cannot be said that this is characteristic of our society. However, we do come across these attitudes, and they often cause considerable damage—especially when they stem from pragmatism, when one generally does not think enough into the future. One could present enough evidence of this, beginning with ecology.

We cannot ignore some indicators of the Czechoslovak population's health. For example, the drop in the average age of the male sector of the population and the spread of some illnesses should be a warning. The deteriorating environment plays, without a doubt, a negative role in this. No less serious is the incorrect lifestyles of many people. This is evidenced by the composition of some foods and by people's carelessness about their own health. Insufficient information and inconsistent and inadequate health education play a significant role in this.

Health is something which every person should protect and learn to appreciate from his earliest days. This does not mean leaving this up to the arbitrariness of the individual. We must more than before contribute to helping people perceive health as an important and in many ways priority factor in the economic development of the state and of society's social and cultural development. To this end measures have to be adopted, including exerting pressure on the family, the schools, national committees, social organizations, and all instruments of propaganda and enlightenment, especially the mass media.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government, as well as the national governments, are addressing the situation in the health sector. Not so long ago the issue of how to increase the effectiveness of the struggle against alcoholism, smoking, and drug addiction

was again examined. Essential material has been prepared on health care for the population and the development of the health sector, which will soon be on the agenda of the deliberations of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

Physical education and sports are of exceptional importance for man's health and his general development. Several times we have already drawn attention to the discrepancy between the development in this sphere and the needs of society, to the fact that adequate conditions are not being created, especially as regards simple, generally accessible sports facilities, which are necessary for every citizen—and not only young ones, although to him this applies doubly—to be able to engage in organized as well as nonorganized sports. The monopolization of sports and physical education by large physical culture organizations, giving priority to top-flight sports, narrows down the scope for mass physical education, especially in the cities. At the same time, as the recent Olympic games revealed, top-flight sports do not necessarily achieve results which would correspond to the resources expended.

It is in our interest to have a sufficient number of quality trainers and voluntary workers, who are the mainstay of mass physical education. It is in our interest that their work be appreciated more and its social importance recognized. For a long time now there have been numerous voices pointing out the shortage and poor quality of sports equipment, from sports-related clothing to various types of gear. We cannot at all subscribe to those arguments which we constantly hear and which excuse, for example, the shortage of racing bicycles. Our sports and physical culture publications, whose standard must be improved, also leave much to be desired.

By its entire system, social policy substantially influences the quality of conditions for the work and life of every man and every family. It also plays a part in deciding the extent of the work, social, and political activity of the working people. The decision to devote one of the future sessions of the party Central Committee to social policy was certainly correct.

Political Pluralism Is Founded on Socialist Democracy [subhead]

Comrades, in the foreground of our attention are also issues connected with the further development of socialist democracy. We are aware that here, too, we cannot delay, that it is necessary to perfect our society's political system, especially the mechanism that makes it function; and rid it of bureaucratic rust, make it more flexible and more efficient. In this we proceed from the Leninist ideas pertaining to the socialist state, people's self-management, and the supervision of socialist legality. We stress the appreciation of the role of the workers class and the working people as the sovereign subject of power. In this we see the foundation of socialist self-management, which is being gradually shaped by the involvement of a broad spectrum of the people in political life. We must create conditions for this and assist it with appropriate legal measures. We have embarked on this path by adopting the laws on state enterprises and cooperatives, and the amendment to the law on national committees.

We are convinced that today, too, under the current conditions, the socialist state fulfills an important role. However, its apparatuses and all bodies must be functional, operational, serve the people, and be supervised by the people. In this respect we put particular demands on the federal government and the national governments and their ministries.

The strength of the socialist state does not appear in administrative command forms of management work or in the incessant churning out of various decrees and instructions, but rather in a type of management which activates the appropriate collectives, stimulates their initiative, and makes them coresponsible. This presumes, above all, creating conditions for truly informal and ever more extensive participation of work and civic collectives in the preparation of management bodies' decisions, for a systematic public control and criticism of shortcomings of the entire administration "on the top" as well as "on the bottom," and for the openness of policy. One has to further expand and improve the flow of information about the work of state bodies. Experience shows that this also is a very effective instrument in the struggle against bureacratism, one which we have not yet fully employed.

The development of socialist democracy and shaping the people's self-management must be accompanied by an intensive and systematic legal education of citizens. This is one of the prerequisites for ever more extensively implementing in practice the principle which decrees that the rule of the people is being realized with the broadest possible participation of the people themselves. The political system created in the process of the revolutionary changes in our society, the National Front together with the system of people's administration, makes this possible.

An important component of the process of democratization is the organizing of public discussions on weighty issues of social life. They should become the permanent method, on the basis of which the state bodies will keep on expanding their ties with the people, deepen their trust in the party policy. On particularly important issues, as the party Central Committee has already decided, one has to hold popular referendums.

National committees are the basic component of the development of self-management and democratization of the political system, the real executor of the will of the people in villages and cities. Their activity, in particular, shows the democratic nature of state power. Therefore, we are so greatly interested in developing their activity further, in their getting still closer to the people, in their

involving citizens in decisionmaking on the day-to-day as well as long-term issues concerning the life of villages and cities. In this respect we must see to it that, above all, the elected bodies are the ones that make decisions everywhere, that their role becomes enhanced, that civic committees become activated and, at the same time, the apparatus of the national committees improves.

National committees should be making decisions on all issues with the active participation of the public, and the management and work collectives of enterprises should become involved in solving the problems of individual regions and localities. We presume that the decentralization of power and the possibility of using resources for the development of villages, which is connected with it—as it was decided not so long ago—will not become stuck at the level of district cities and some central villages, and that it will result in national committees taking more initiative when it comes to the buildup of services and strengthening the economic base of self-management at the ground level. We must create a truly viable and productive system from the small-scale forms of this economic activity, including individual economic activity, which will operate on a healthy basis and which will not be hampered by numerous nonsensical regulations and administrative measures.

One of the valuable results of social activity, which directly reflects the affinity of inhabitants for their village, are the "Z" [community self-help] actions. Without them many election programs would be endangered; they yield not only material benefits, but at the same time are also the manifestation of civic awareness which strengthens the togetherness of the people and the awareness of coresponsibility for the development of their village or city. Initiatives thus oriented must be supported; one must organize "model village" competitions and punish national committees that neglect the appearance of and order in their villages.

It is necessary also to see to national committees developing their cultural-educational activities more extensively, and activating groups for civic affairs. By such activity they could significantly contribute to the creation of socialist forms of rituals on important milestones in man's life, and expand the scope for the development of local and regional culture.

National Front Is an Open System [subhead]

When setting up socialist self-management—as it arises from the document "On the Activation of the National Front," which was adopted at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee—the organizations associated in the National Front have an important mission. The National Front is beginning to develop a broader scope for increasing the role of its organizations in the formulation, realization, and supervision of the state's policy. It should strengthen the legislative initiative of its basic components, take a more definite part in drafting government decisions, and in regions, districts, and villages it should take a more definite part in drafting the decisions of national committees.

The structure of the National Front provides considerable potential for a varied wealth of activities by social organizations, for combining personal interests and hobbies of individuals with becoming actively involved in various spheres of work beneficial to society, and thus also in an informal and effective education of people. The National Front facilitates the development of numerous civic and social activities which are the expression of efforts to take part in the further construction of socialism. In this respect we regard the National Front as being an open system, one open to all activities with the exception of those at variance with the Constitution and our laws.

We appreciate the fact that in recent years social organizations have been striving in their socioeducational activity to increasingly respect the different and specific interests of their members and to overcome formalism. However, we still encounter the so-called actions for everyone, which are often useless and which rightly have a small or formal attendance. No wonder that general opposition to such actions is on the rise.

Young people, in particular, prefer informal activities, in which they see an opportunity for better self-realization. This is natural for young people, who are trying to discover forms of social life corresponding to their aspirations and interests. What is disconcerting are activities connected with increasingly antisocial conduct, violence, and even brutality. We must not reconcile ourselves to this and belittle them, saying that they are peripheral. We must do all we can for young people to grow up healthy and so that they can carry on with the revolutionary feats of previous generations.

A Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationality question is of key importance to the stability and the further development of our political system. The fact that among our country's nations and nationalities relations of understanding and mutual cooperation prevail and that the feeling of togetherness and awareness of coresponsibility for the development of our common fatherland prevails among them is one of the greatest achievements of socialism.

We know that it was not easy to solve this issue. We also realize what an explosive and destabilizing nature nationality problems can acquire if ignored. After all, there is not one important issue which we are resolving which does not have its nationality aspect. There are still forces at work which represent a certain potential danger to the unity of our country's nations and nationalities. Nationalist prejudices of various kinds have deep roots; they can be easily revived and become exacerbated by imprudent steps. One of our primary duties is to safeguard what we have achieved, and in all spheres of life of

our state, united through the federation, to behave in a way designed to strengthen the relations among our nations and nationalities. The line from which we proceed is clear—it is respecting the national peculiarities and specifics of the development of every nation or nationality and, integrally with that, the strengthening of their unity, of everything that unites them. One aspect cannot be separated from another. In the nationality policy especially, one must not commit any insensitive or imprudent deed.

The Dialogue With Churches Will Continue [subhead]

At today's session we consider it necessary to take a stand on the issue of church policy. We appreciate that the overwhelming majority of believers and clergymen actively participate in the construction of socialism and have a positive or loyal attitude toward our social system. Therefore, the attempts by some circles to drive a wedge between believers and the rest of the people, making them out to be some sort of a force a priori alien or even hostile toward our socialist society, are completely irresponsible and tendentious. The assertion, strenuously being spread by our enemies, that, our state allegedly suppresses religious freedoms, that it might want to "eradicate" religious organizations, is nonsense. Believers in our country are citizens with full rights. Their religious needs can be satisfied in harmony with constitutional laws. There is nothing to prevent this or their active participation in the further development of our fatherland. Churches are a part of the structure of our society, and we are interested in continuing to develop good relations with them, including the Roman Catholic Church. We consider all of them—and there are 18 of them—equal. We want to have normal relations with the Vatican. The other side, too, should hold this position; unfortunately, the Vatican thus far has reacted to all of Czechoslovakia's steps for goodwill slowly and mostly negatively. Radio Vatican lately has even begun openly glorifying the former puppet fascist regime in Slovakia and its leading representatives, including the international war criminal Tiso. Its gross and insulting attack on the heroic epic of the Slovak people—the Slovak national uprising—has today no precedent in the world. Such an attitude constitutes de facto a decades-long step backward. Normal relations can be based only on full respect for the fact that the CSSR is a sovereign socialist state, one in which the laws of this state apply. This also is the prerequisite for constructive talks.

Our state will continue to conduct dialogue with churches, with all who sincerely wish it and who display the goodwill to resolve life's problems. It is understandable that relations of deepening trust will find their expression in the corresponding perfection of norms which legally enshrine them. We are not closing ourselves off from developments in any sphere. However, the sovereignty of state power, which represents the working people, is indivisible, and we do not intend to weaken it in any way. The state cannot renounce its duty to ensure and guarantee freedoms for all; it must not allow anyone to assert his rights to the detriment of others. This is the way we view the commitments we assumed at international negotiations and those stemming from the Final Act of the Helsinki CSCE conference. We consider any form of political misuse of churches and religions against socialism as impermissible. We will resolutely oppose such efforts, together with the overwhelming majority of believers and clergymen.

Party's Leading Role Is the Condition For the Development of Socialist Democracy [subhead]

In recent years a discussion about political pluralism has been developing in some socialist countries. We, too, have stressed on quite a few occasions that we regard our political system, as represented by the National Front and the people's administrative bodies, to be one of the forms of socialist pluralism. We stress: socialist pluralism, pluralism which expresses the real power of the working people, pluralism which provides a broad scope for expression and satisfying the interests of various collectives and citizens, the way it corresponds to the social and nationality composition of the inhabitants of our country, to the objectives of the party policy which pursue the well-being of the whole as well as every citizen. Whoever demands of us pluralism on the model of bourgeois societies, wants the impossible from us—a return to capitalism.

Political pluralism in our society is based on socialist democracy which, in contrast to bourgeois democracy, does not allow any form of social discrimination; it not only preaches the rights of man, but also truly ensures them by means of its socioeconomic system. This does not at all mean that democracy asserts itself automatically in our society. This is an affair of cultural-political development, of shaping civic and, especially, legal consciousness, but—above all—of perfecting the mechanism of the implementation of political power: so that society—despite its social, professional, nationalities, and generational diversity—cam constitute a healthily developing living organism, a composite whole which systematically renews itself. The fundamental prerequisite for that—and thus also for the further development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the state's political stability—is the leading role of the party, the political and spiritual vanguard of society. As it was stressed at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, if the party is to fulfill this role, it must continue implementing the method of political leadership.

Strengthening legal order, respecting laws and strictly observing them—these are things of particular importance today, under the conditions of society's restructuring, when legislative activity should strengthen the accountability of all institutions and every legal subject and every citizen. We live in a state governed by laws, the foundation of which is socialist humanism. This awareness must be generally strengthened and accompanied by an effective struggle against all violations of socialist legality.

Let Education Go Back to Comenius [subhead]

Comrades, in our activity we strive for people assimilating scientific weltanschauung, inculcating values and norms of socialism, so as to mold in the process of social transformation a man distinguished by good education, culture, and a sense of duty and responsibility.

The results which are being achieved in the individual spheres of society's life are being decided by people, by their overall political, moral, and professional preparedness. The educational sector bears great responsibility for this. It gives the young generation the basic knowledge, fosters interest, and helps it to create determining factors of weltanschauung and an active attitude toward society.

The current tasks confronting the educational sphere are so momentous that it was decided to devote a separate CPCZ Central Committee session to problems connected with the further development of the educational sector. In preparing it, we will make use of the findings and stands of regional party bodies and primary party organizations in schools, and of critical suggestions and specific recommendations of the public discussion on the "Analysis of the Czechoslovak Educational-Enlightenment System." We are aware of the complexity of the work in this sphere. In view of the nature of the changes that our educational sector has been undergoing, we must responsibly weigh every decision concerning its further fate; make use of the experience of the best teachers, masters of vocational education, and educators; and incorporate in the proposals for change everything that is of value in the educational systems of the developed states.

It would be premature today to analyze the situation prevailing in our schools and to talk about their duties. However, in connection with the discussion of the ideological issues concerning the work of the party, we consider it necessary to stress that also in the future, in the process of the changes connected with restructuring, the educational function of schools must not be weakened. It must, however, be truly organically and informally connected with the educational function, with the preparation of young people for their future professions. They should already at school become convinced that they will make their lives successes—despite obstacles which they will encounter—through, above all, conscientious and good work, which benefits society. They have to be inculcated with that conviction and led toward diligence, order, understanding, and the fulfillment of duties. This must be the foundation on which the entire educational work of teachers has to rest.

It will do no harm—despite all the new requirements of today—to go back in that sense to Comenius [Czech educational reformer], to his wise thoughts, and to compare our pedagogical activity today with them. There are truths which only time affirms. This will also be the best way to commemorate the important anniversary of this great humanitarian of ours—the 400th anniversary of his birth in 1992.

In preparations for the session of the Central Committee which we are contemplating, we do not want to concentrate only on the work of the educational sphere as such, but also ponder as to how to improve the conditions for this work, how to enhance the authority of teachers and the social prestige of the teaching and educational profession, how to eliminate everything that disturbs the work of the educational sector; what diverts it from its mission to thoroughly prepare the young generation for life in socialist society, thus making it capable of coping with the tasks its members will face tomorrow.

Scientific Truth Cannot Be Dictated [subhead]

Comrades, the restructuring of society can be successfully realized only when we are able to resolve the issues that it presents, on a theoretical foundation, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. It is not enough to proceed in this only from the experience of social practice acquired in the past, no matter what exceptional importance is the generalization of it. If we are to purposefully advance, the profound theoretical clarification of development trends in socialist society and the solution of new problems must be linked with critical analyses. The newness of the tasks facing us considerably increases the demands that practice places on theory, especially on the higher social sciences. Their further development is inevitable also for enhancing the standard and effectiveness of our ideological work; it is one of the main conditions of restructuring.

There is no doubt that the social sciences sector can point to a number of valuable works that enrich our knowledge and stimulate our thinking. Some constitute valuable expertises, which are the result of specific research or forecasts. However, the overall standard of the institutes of social sciences does not correspond to the growing needs of our society. A part of theoretical research is completely divorced from practical life. The value of other research is low. Although it fulfills its function of explanation and can serve didactic purposes, it yields neither new ideas nor findings, it does not hold a critical and truthful mirror to practice, and it does not encourage progressive changes. One of the main causes of this state of affairs is the type of management that does not pursue the quality of projects, but the quantity of research reports submitted. Connected with this is bureaucratism in the planning of research which, although being generally oriented toward topical problems, facilitates the selection of specific themes that do not correspond to social needs. Low demands regarding the quality of creative workers are generally tolerated precisely in the sphere of social sciences, and this applies to academic institutes and to institutes of higher education. Many people working there have no prerequisites for truly creative work such as science. From this, then, stem serious moral and political problems.

To a certain extent, social sciences fulfill their tasks in the ideological struggle, thus undoubtedly contributing to overcoming bourgeois influences, petty bourgeois views and anachronisms, and the activity of anticommunist centers, which are trying to revive them and misuse them. However, in many respects these sciences leave much to be desired in terms of theoretically overcoming the ideological positions of our class opponents and the need to come to grips with various non-Marxist concepts on the proper level. A more profound and objective view of the ideological struggles we have waged during the socialist transformations is also lacking.

More than once have we had to defend the revolutionary nature of our theory, its principles, and beat back attempts to distort or debase them, whether from the left or the right. Let us recall the revisionists' onslaught, which was the ideological overture to the crisis at the end of the 1960's, and which camouflaged itself with the banner of struggle against dogmatism. It was precisely then that we could again convince ourselves that revisionism and dogmatism are communicating vessels, and that the most effective instruments for overcoming them is creative theoretical work in which the highest authority is the scientific truth that cannot be dictated. One can work one's way to it only through honest and tenacious study of the systematically developing social reality, through matter-of-fact discussions under conditions when this work is not disturbed by external incompetent interference or unnecessary and demeaning self-censorship. Genuine free research always knows its responsibility to society and the most honorable duty of a scientist and all creative figures: to use his talent to serve the people.

Revisionists, who came to the defense of theory, with such a great hullabaloo, to "liberate it from ideology," in fact made it completely dependent on the destructive policy they were conducting in campaigns they unleashed against the party and socialism based on the principles of Marxism - Leninism. In this they behaved aggressively and intolerantly. They publicly scandalized those who disagreed with them. We have no right to forget such experience—especially today, when we must orient social-scientific research toward the fundamental problems of society's life in the process of restructuring, when we must boldly determine tasks, most resolutely overcome conservatism and inertia, and in this never retreat from the principled positions of our revolutionary theory.

In order to work out the strategic issues of society's socioeconomic development, science must have a headstart on practice. We need scientifically substantiated forecasts, worked out with consideration for socialism's main development trends. This is all the more important since today the party faces the duty of preparing the CPCZ program for the next congress' deliberations.

We are convinced that the tasks which must be solved will stimulate the social-scientific front to creative work. It must not disperse its strength, it must concentrate on truly key issues of a practical and methodological nature. In view of the new tasks, it will be necessary to reassess the orientation of the sphere of social-scientific research to date. Here we will also draw on international experience, develop international scientific cooperation, and make maximum use of the existing results and experience from the activity of the theoretical institutes of the fraternal parties, especially the CPSU.

In order to be able to steer social processes, one needs a truthful and composite picture of our society. We must study society in its entirety and diversity. Such research requires collaboration among social-scientific disciplines, as well as their cooperation with natural and technical sciences.

Another important thing is to systematically learn to know and analyze public opinion. This makes it possible to discern in time nascent conflict and to react adequately to it and resolve it. Of course, it is necessary to conclude the buildup of and to equip institutes devoted to the research of public opinion with modern technology, and this not only in the center, but also in the regions, as well as in some ministries.

The importance of making use of the findings of sociology, social psychology, pedagogics, and—in particular—of economic sciences, has been increasing and unprecedently in connection with the activation of the human factor. We have already noted on what directions of the study of the economic science one has to concentrate. Only one thing has to be added—and this does not apply to these sciences alone—that in order for them to fulfill their tasks, they must put an end to the barriers of the surviving conservatism and dogmatism, and this already as regards the formulation of questions. We expect that they will fill the gaps that still exist in the economic theory of socialism, and that they will become involved in the broader discussions occurring among Communists as well as among the broad public, and which are connected with the realization of the economic reform.

An important instrument of ideological influence, especially on youth, is the education by means of history. For that, one has to make use of the entire wealth of the inherited cultural values and monuments of our history. The historic science bears great responsibility for this education. History is a source of models and moral norms for life. In order to win the young generation to socialism, to have it understand its logical context with the history of its country, history must be presented as objectively as possible, truthfully, and at the same in an interesting manner, graphically, and as an activity of people, not as a fatal operation of abstract objective laws.

Considerable damage has been done to educational work by schematically depicting history as the struggle of good against evil, when on one occasion a certain epoch and the activity of its principals is being depicted uncritically, and on another occasion with the blackest of colors. No less harmful is the concealment of the truth,

just as an unobjective reassessment of history and historical lecturing attempts to replace one half-truth with another. The consequence are doubts and the disparagement of the purpose of revolutionary and progressive struggles in history in general. The historical approach which is enshrined in the essence of our revolutionary theory, the dialectic perception of reality, will not tolerate any form of lecturing to history or blaming contemporary difficulties on the past or excusing the errors of the past. It is rather the foundation for energetic activity, to which historical experience helps to create the future.

The assessment itself of the road which the party has undergone since its founding, especially during the period of socialist construction, is currently acquiring importance. Our historiography has a great responsibility to truthfully point out its complexity and greatness. One of the most topical tasks on which we must concentrate energy without delay is to draw up anew [zpracovat] the history of the CPCZ and Czechoslovakia.

We also place high demands on philosophy, which must develop the key categories of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, systematically follow the real conflicts in socialist development, assist in the search for correct ways of solving them, and provide a profound interpretation of the purpose of social movement. The basic issues of world outlook, and correlating the class aspects and aspects concerning all of mankind, as well as man's development, socialist humanism, and moral values with the advancement of socialism and the scientific-technical revolution, with the need to resolve mankind's global problems, all become increasingly prominent in philosophical research. We must not permit philosophy to lag in providing replies to these and other issues.

In many respects, we will depend on philosophy to prove that the Marxist-Leninist methodology of dialectical materialism is a methodology of a creative spirit which demands an innovative and searching atmosphere; to prove that, by its very substance, it is in conflict with dogmatism, forcing us to overcome all schematic constructions which are isolated from practical life and to give up everything that is not confirmed by life, everything based on deformed practices or that leads to a time-serving interpretation of the revolutionary theory.

The methodology of dialectical materialism represents the potential of creative thinking. It is our greatest legacy from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. On the basis of this legacy we must not only improve but also qualitatively renew our knowledge of the social sciences, and raise it to the level of the present demands. It is in this context in particular that we are beginning to see how necessary it is to create a new type of scientific research, one closely bound to society's needs.

This is also why we must be interested in (and also concerned about) the standards of Marxist-Leninist lectures at our university-level schools, the students' attitude to this doctrine, and the conditions created by the schools for developing social sciences, but also humanitarian education in general.

The state and legal sciences find themselves confronted by an extremely topical task: to continue providing for the restructuring process in the sphere of legislation, and to prepare a new CSSR Constitution. They must also contribute toward working out the arguments for assertively explaining the nature of our state as a socialist legal state, and for explaining socialist pluralism and the issues connected with the assertion of human rights and civic freedoms in our society.

In the effort to further develop social sciences, we will ensure the establishment of conditions for their creative activity, support the expansion of international contacts and studies abroad, and promote participation in significant international events. In the present period (and this is generally valid) it is unthinkable for scientific workplaces to lack access to the necessary information on a level comparable to the international level. Likewise, we must improve the quality of publishing activities and overcome the present situation in which one has to wait for years to publish some scientific work, and in which all kinds of bureaucratic obstacles are placed in the way of its publication.

In harmony with the new demands, it will be necessary to evaluate and work out a new concept for the activities of the CPCZ Central Committee's Marxism-Leninism Institute and other institutes that operate in the sphere of social sciences.

Culture and Arts Must Serve Our Healthy Development [subhead]

Comrades, restructuring should also contribute to the new upsurge in our socialist culture and arts, to the establishment of optimum conditions for all kinds of artistic activities, for the growth and assertion of all talents. We will continue to protect and develop the great values of our cultural legacy, which was shaped in our nations' historic struggles for freedom and national independence, to attain the goals of the socialist revolution.

The primary task of party work in this sphere is to cultivate a highly demanding attitude among the people working there, among the artistic intelligentsia—to stimulate their sense of social responsibility and to imbue them with a healthy critical attitude and a profound understanding of what our party is striving to achieve and what it expects from them. Culture and art cannot be pressed into any stereotype, nor can they be fettered by bureaucratic procedures; likewise, no unprincipled withdrawal from the principles of socialism and its esthetic norms, no negation of socialism can be tolerated.

Our understanding of the socialist democratization of culture has nothing in common with the loudly proclaimed democracy of the sixties, which was (essentially) only a cover slogan for counterrevolutionary activity. At that time, the right-wing minority on the cultural front had usurped power from the majority, and strove to disorient and manipulate it. The right-wing minority

preached apolitical attitudes and the need to strip culture of all ideological values, while making unashamed use of this very culture in the struggle for its own political aims. Even today, our class adversaries are pinning their hopes on the democratization of culture and arts. However, the more we develop democracy on truly socialist foundations, in the working man's interests, the less successful will be their disruptive activities.

The comprehensive and purposeful influence of culture on the establishment of a new socialist society with a democratic management is both essential and irreplaceable. We want this influence to increase strikingly. This wish is connected with the need to achieve high cultural standards in the people's living and working environments, and also to make the working people participate as broadly as possible in the cultural life of cities, communities, and plants. It is incumbent upon our artists to promote this with true enthusiasm, to teach the people how to contribute to the creation of cultural values, and to find in their close ties with the people the sources of and incentives for their own creative activity.

We appreciate the fact that prominent artists of all generations are marching with the party and have professed their allegiance to the realization of the restructuring policy (as documented by the congresses of artists' unions last year). We welcome the frankness with which our creative intelligentsia speaks of the issues of art and culture, and of the problems of our entire society, with which it subjects to criticism all the phenomena against which the party is fighting. We must handle all these comments very responsibly, regardless of whether they concern various shortcomings due to insensitive and unqualified approaches, or commercially motivated activities in publishing and the book trade, the practices of artists' agencies and cultural educational facilities, the operation of closed groups striving for a monopoly in various artistic sectors (condemned long ago), or else the state of the material-technical base of culture and the arts, which is often almost disastrous and which is particularly unfavorable in Prague.

We have talented poets, writers, graphic artists, composers, repertory advisers, stage directors, performing artists, and entire artistic ensembles who are spreading the good name of our socialist fatherland far and wide. We value all positive creative work, particularly that which deals with the urgent issues of our life and which pictures the people's life and work truthfully, in all its complexity and variety. We make no secret of our demands: Our society needs art which is not locked inside the artist's inner being. We need art which does justice to the socialist transformations in our country and which contributes to these transformations by the force of its impact—art which is characterized by a sharp view, by stimulating ideas, and by profound truthfulness and emotional impact. Works of art can effectively participate in the struggle against social diseases such as an indifferent attitude to work and to socialist ownership, rampant bureaucracy, a fixation with property and money, parasitism, and other moral deformations. The voice of humanitarian socialist art also resounds with particular strength and impact in mankind's struggle for its very existence—in global issues such as war and peace, as well as in ecological matters or other problems.

However, the truth is (and it would be a mistake to ignore it) that only a relatively small number of recently created works correspond to the demanding viewpoints maintained by the socialist society. On the other hand, we have an increasing number of works which exhibit merely a superficial and one-sided reaction to the various aspects of contemporary life (or which even evade them). The ideological intentions of certain authors often misfire because of the low artistic standard of their work. A lack of talent, superficiality, a lack of artistic responsibility—these cannot be covered up, least of all by hypocritical talk about restricted creative freedom. In this country every artist has broad scope for free creative expression that is beneficial for society. This can be proven in all fields of artistic activity—in graphic arts, for instance, by the recent widely attended showings in Prague, Bratislava, and other cities. These salons also showed that the middle and younger generations of graphic artists in particular have no clear ideas about ideological and esthetic issues. Of course, a similar situation exists in other arts, too.

We also have many problems with our music. These are being energetically discussed by composers and musicologists in their search for new expression in contemporary compositions, in continuity with the great values created in the past. The highest demands are being placed on the performing arts, on improving their traditionally high standards which are recognized throughout the world.

Light music is the subject of lively discussion and dispute; its further development should be based on responsible, ideologically knowledgeable evaluations—particularly concerning new trends and streams, and the enforcement of more demanding criteria. Here we are confronted with a difficult task, one which cannot be postponed: to prevent efforts to abuse this sphere to spread works of poor taste, a decadent morality, and negativist attitudes to life; works that foster the moods of vandalism. But if our state institutions, social organizations, and communications media will uniformly apply appropriate cultural-political and ideologically esthetic criteria here, then this task can be accomplished.

In appraising various aspects of the social impact of works of art, we must not forget theater, cinema, and television. We possess a rich and valuable stock of drama, on which a number of playwrights are successfully basing their contemporary work. Our acting community has high standards, and its most prominent representatives enjoy extraordinary popularity. As long as dramatic art complies with the "spirit of the times," it has a particular attraction for young people. This primarily applies to works that hold up a mirror to certain phenomena that deserve social condemnation, and with

which the young people identify themselves. Orientation toward this is undoubtedly a good thing. However, we cannot meet this interest halfway by reducing our demands in respect to the ideological-artistic standards of these works. It is incumbent on the Communists working in the appropriate unions of creative artists and in agencies that manage our theaters, our cinematography, and our television to deal with these problems (in fact, they are passionately arguing about them), and to seek a way to guide the development of our dramatic arts. It will also be necessary to improve collaboration between our cinema and our television.

We must be far more demanding in selecting films from abroad. All good films (including light entertainment and adventure films) should be shown in our movie theaters and on our television screens. However, it is hard to resign ourselves to various practices which (by claiming that the audience finds them attractive) open the way to films in which the cult of violence, perversion, and a cynical disparagement of the value of human life denies every basic principle of humanism. Restructuring opens up new possibilities for our artists, providing them with a unique opportunity to develop and use their talents. At the same time, it demands that we intensify the process of unifying the artists' community on the principles of socialist art.

Nevertheless, we must not forget how ramified this community is. It consists not only of people with natural authority (due to their incontestable artistic merits and fixed socialist stands), but also of people who were incapable of orienting themselves correctly in the sixties or in other complicated periods, but who are now honorably contributing to the development of our arts. The works created by the older generation, but also the works of the middle generation,which has already acquired sufficient experience in life, and which is fully resolved to make a legacy which is worthy of respect, and as lasting as the works created by the preceding generations, are real contributions in our eyes. Our youngest generation of artists is mostly still searching for its own, individual expression; but even this generation is proving its ability to participate in the development of our arts, and we must assist in this.

The artists' unions bear a great responsibility (both within and outside the framework of their membership base) for unifying the artists' community and for overcoming the prejudices bound up with the generations and all obstacles that prevent the growth of the community's social authority. For, in fact, our society does not renounce any artist—as long as he himself does not renounce our society and turn his back on it.

The artists' unions should show greater courage in setting about solving issues that are linked with the artists' social status, with the material, but also moral, recognition of their work, with the training of young creators, and also with the artists' opportunities to assert themselves—briefly, the unions should speak out on all issues that concern the artists' lives and the interrelations between our society and the arts. Prominent artists who enjoy broad recognition are also expected to speak out on every social problem.

As for management work, the responsible officials should realize that the use of bureaucratic and administrative methods is particularly harmful in the cultural and artistic field, where it is extremely important to proceed sensitively, to support initiative, and to establish the necessary conditions for creative activity. Our state agencies on all levels should regard the social means set apart for developing our culture as investments for multiplying the sources of our society's spiritual riches. In their relations with the artists unions they must respect the unions' independence, stands, and proposals. And as for the party's guiding work, its center of gravity must be shifted toward demanding responsibility from leading artist cadres, from Communists operating in the unions and in other cultural institutions—the party's guiding work must be focused on openly discussing all issues with the broad aktiv of creative artists, and on systematic ideological-educational work.

The role of the arts in the present period (in many respects) places new demands on literary and artistic criticism, which should have a greater influence on creative work in the spirit of our cultural policy. The present state of artistic and literary criticism is not meeting this requirement. Its current primary task is to overcome the present confusion and ideological chaos in value criteria, by consistently implementing the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist artistic creation. This task is closely connected with the imperative need to thoroughly analyze the development of our arts in the sixties and to develop the scientific disciplines dealing with all kinds of art and its history.

One serious problem is the generally diminishing ability to adopt artistic values. That is why it is necessary to introduce a society-wide system of aesthetic education, and to do so without any procrastination. We also need new incentives for further developing our cultural educational activity and the cultural activities of our working people and youth (such as artistic hobbies, which have rich traditions and a broad base in our country). It is impossible to tolerate the increasing tendency (shown by economic organizations) to reduce or even do away with the means set apart for these purposes.

It is gratifying to note the recent increase in interest in nature conservation, in the restoration of cultural monuments, and in the aesthetic appearance of cities and communities that has been shown by our broad public, and particularly our young people. This interest is expressed in socially beneficial drives which must be supported.

Architecture and town-planning are part and parcel of culture. If preceding social groupings concentrated the skills of architects and craftsmen on such ideological

symbols as cathedrals, castles, chateaus, palaces, banks, or representative premises for various industrial concerns and prominent figures of the ruling classes, then our society must create totally different architectural landmarks—in housing settlements, production zones, and cultural, educational, and medical care facilities. The present state of architecture, particularly in housing construction (which has been the victim of incorrectly understood industrialization), stands in stark contradiction to these requirements, and it is high time to tackle this issue very energetically.

For this purpose, it is essential to substantially improve the activities of agencies and institutions involved in the process of preparing and carrying out architectural and town-planning projects. Surely it is the duty of investors—who in fact represent the future users or operators of the premises in question—to formulate their social order so that it contains a demand for high standards in architectural and town-planning solutions. And the architects' mission makes it their duty to put all their skill and all their sense of the needs of today and tomorrow into these projects, instead of tolerating distortions of the basic principles governing the creation of socialist living environments. On the other hand, the producers and suppliers of architectural creations and urban complexes must respect our society's needs, meeting them on a corresponding technical and cultural level.

We must broadly support the spheres of applied arts, design, and so forth. Here, too, we have lots of problems which must be solved.

We have accomplished (there is no doubt about this) a great deal in the past for the upsurge of culture in our fatherland—thanks to the unique heritage of our national history and socialist construction. Thus this has become a country with one of the most developed cultures in the world. We trust that our present will also enrich its culture and arts with new values, which are so greatly needed for the healthy development of our socialist society and for the happy life of our people. Naturally, we must devote appropriate care to this.

The Journalists' Great Competence and Responsibility [subhead]

Comrades: The role of mass communications media as the most significant tool for providing information and as the broadest democratic rostrum at the public's disposal is becoming particularly prominent.

The course of restructuring, but also the citizens' attitude toward it, toward the policy of the party, and toward the socialist state in general, will considerably depend on the way we handle this tool and improve the standards of work carried out by the press, radio, and television in this important field.

In this respect, the main thing is to have the communications media support the new ideas and innovative approaches, and broadly propagate the good experience born from practical restructuring. Today more than ever it is necessary to have propaganda operate in coordination with the course taken by the political, state, and economic spheres and proceed from reality, from the real state of affairs.

The openness of our policy expects the journalists to show great responsibility and competence. We have always emphasized journalistic ethics, which is one of our priorities today. Instead of pushing through the ambitions of various groups or individuals, or even enforcing a policy directed against the people, the communications media must serve the people. It would contradict the democratic changes in our society if the people working in editorial offices were to confuse openness with an opportunity to spread scandal about individuals, or to disseminate unreliable reports—if they were to support or incite various rumors and fabrications, to introduce nervousness or tension into society. We must never forget the experience of 1968, when the communications media were abused against socialism, to manipulate the public, and to seriously disorient people.

The complicated, weighty, and urgent nature of the tasks which we are now tackling makes it necessary to involve the broadest possible circle of people in discussions on various issues—experts and responsible executives, and also ordinary citizens. Our communications media must establish the necessary scope for this. It may happen that the people express contradictory views, ideas, and suggestions—this can be scarcely avoided in informal discussions; however, the important thing is that this happens in the service of a good cause, in an effort to contribute toward resolving new problems, developing our society, and consolidating socialism. This is the whole purpose of the pluralism of views in socialist society.

In this respect many things in the work of our communications media have improved, or are being improved. Let us recall, for instance, certain programs of the Sondy [Probes] series, the radio program entitled "Things Under Discussion," or the surveys and roundtable discussions on the pages of RUDE PRAVO and of other newspapers and magazines.

The communications media should become our daily school of democracy. Of course, the journalists themselves should attend this school—they should not come out with unsubstantiated judgements, or foist their own, frequently one-sided stands on society. After all, discussions should lead to constructive conclusions. This makes it essential for editorial offices to collaborate with the executive staff in all sectors. Conditions for this have not yet been created—far from it. The various instructions issued by ministerial departments or enterprises for limiting or banning contacts with the editorial offices

still have to be revoked. It is impossible to close one's doors to journalists, to ban them from workplaces, or to prevent them from gaining access to information.

Today, when the ability to act rationally and to ward off various misinformation is becoming increasingly important, it is also becoming increasingly important to receive the fullest possible, businesslike, comprehensible, timely information. This applies to information about domestic events, but also about international events. The communications media must realize the significance of such reliable, responsible information when they describe the process of changes in the fraternal socialist countries, particularly in the USSR. It is essential for our citizens to get their bearings, learn to understand the changes correctly, grasp the complicated nature of these changes and their difficulties and peculiarities, and above all to see all that links us, all that gives us mutual strength. This is also the tenor of conclusions adopted at the conference of secretaries of the fraternal parties for ideological work, which dealt with these issues this year in Ulaanbaatar.

Last October the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium adopted a document on the implementation of the Leninist principle of providing information to the public via the press, radio, and television. The conclusions of this document have been worked out in editorial offices, and their positive impact is already beginning to become apparent. However, we must realize that this is truly only the beginning. There is still a lot of routine and many stereotypes left in the information work of editorial offices.

Open policy and the flow of information to the public are inseparable from the development of criticism. Without criticism it is impossible to accomplish the demanding tasks of the restructuring process, or to develop the democratization process; however, the criticism must be truthful—this is what we demand from it in the first place, since only truthful criticism can help the party and socialism.

We can find a lot of criticism in our communications media. In many instances it shows a subjective motivation—it contains tendentious conclusions, distracts reality, and shows no lack of demagogy. Both the appropriate editorial offices and the authors of such criticism must be drawn to account, particularly if the criticism affects a person's honor. On the other hand we must not overlook that we still have many people who continue to reject criticism, even if it is justified.

On occasion they regard criticism as an attack on their person or sector, even as an attack on the socialist system itself; and they immediately begin to recall the events of 1968.

It is essential to consistently and resolutely demand (and here the role of party agencies and organizations is irreplaceable) that the responsible staff and institutions promptly fulfill the duties assigned to them by law, that they react to all criticism adequately, and that they also inform the broad public how they have solved the problem that generated criticism. So far this has been done only in isolated instances. Certain members of the senior staff have made it a habit to keep silent about criticism if they cannot reject it outright. Thus it is no wonder that 80 percent of the people involved in the sociological study "Citizens' Views on RUDE PRAVO" have expressed doubts about the effectiveness of published criticism.

Criticism must cement the society, encourage it to adopt an unappeasable attitude toward shortcomings, and strengthen its courage to fight these shortcomings. We will always back the journalists who boldly come out with such criticism, and the same applies to all honest citizens who use the rostrum of our communications media to unmask and pillory various abuses which they refuse to tolerate. We will not permit justified criticism to be restricted or suppressed, and we will show even less tolerance toward persecution for criticism.

An extremely responsible role in enforcing the principle of openness and of supplying information to the public is played by the party press, particularly RUDE PRAVO. Interest in RUDE PRAVO is growing, as is its authority in our society. This is gratifying. Not only the Communists, but also our broadest public find in it a confirmation of the restructuring process, and it also replies to many a doubt about its implementation. They appreciate the paper's more extensive and prompt information, its authoritative pronouncements on a number of current weighty issues. This is an obligation for the paper. As the press organ of the CPCZ Central Committee, RUDE PRAVO must meet the present demands on the communications media in an exemplary manner.

Our radio and television are decisively helping us to shape the social atmosphere and the people's moods and attitudes. It is via these media that the public is receiving the first information about events at home and abroad. That is why radio and television must show far greater responsibility in approaching information work—and not only information work: They also play a most significant cultural-political and educational role in the unification of our nations, in helping them to improve their mutual knowledge and to draw closer together.

We must devote systematic attention to training and rearing highly qualified cadres of journalists. The contents of journalistic studies must stand much closer to practical needs. At the same time we must not ignore the language culture. The Czechoslovak Journalists Union should devote far more attention to these issues than to date, because it shares responsibility for the ideological-political growth and professional training of our journalists.

It is essential not to delay preparations for a new press law, which is to create corresponding legal norms for providing information to the broad public— not only to protect journalists and individual citizens, but primarily to protect our socialist society. We will not be introducing any forms of censorship, for we rely on the responsibility and awareness of the cadres working in our communications media and the responsibility and awareness of all newspaper and magazine publishers among the National Front organizations.

New technical instruments and technologies for passing on and processing information are being rapidly developed and spread throughout the world. At the same time the current state of material-technical means of our ideological work absolutely does not correspond to our needs—on the contrary, it curtails the effectiveness of our mass communications media.

We are primarily concerned about the critical situation in our printing and paper industries, which can no longer be tolerated. The highly obsolete technical equipment in both these branches (it has considerably outlived its lifespan in many places) is threatening the publication of periodicals within set deadlines and without breakdowns, and is narrowing the structure of these periodicals (although there is a general call for enriching and expanding this). The paper shortage has even forced us to reduce the size of RUDE PRAVO. This is a temporary measure, but it has led to sharp criticism (even though an explanation had been provided). We must revert to this matter in a broader context.

The replacement and modernization of technical radio and television equipment is an urgent political requirement. Analyses show that more than 70 percent of the equipment exhibits the effects of wear and tear and is obsolescent. The necessary facilities for the production and relay of radio and television programs are lacking. Just for illustration: The replacement of production technology in these media in the developed countries takes about 5 years, in our country it takes twice as long. The consequence of this state of affairs is then, for example, the fact that more than 3.5 million viewers still cannot receive the second television channel, and that there exist entire regions in our republic, where a quality radio signal cannot be received. We also must properly react to problems such as satellite broadcasts, cable television, the development of video technology, teletext, databanks, new ways of transmitting of information to the user, and such like.

What is involved is an extensive complex of issues. We must set priorities and speedily resolve them. Any postponement is no longer possible. Therefore, on the initiative of the party bodies, appropriate measures are being prepared, which will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

The Effectiveness of Propaganda and Agitation Lies in Its Concreteness [subhead]

Comrades, all our propaganda and agitation, and all our mass political work, must proceed from the Leninist principle of openness and flow of information to the public. This principle is the foundation of restructuring.

The ongoing changes elicit a number of formerly unknown problems. Their solution is connected in quite a few cases with overcoming ideas regarded until now as obligatory, with the need to seek satisfactory answers to questions posed by life, with clashes of views. Inevitably there arises the need to reassess the existing standard, methods, and forms of ideological work, propaganda, and agitation; to ponder their effectiveness, convincingness, and trustworthiness, their entire concept; to what extent they correspond to the criteria of the present, to the given level of the development of society, standard of culture, and the mentality of the present day man, his psychology, whether they have the place which they should have in party activity, what is their social impact, and society's relationship toward them.

Without ignoring the undoubted positive achievements in this sphere—after all, thousands and thousands of workers dedicated to the party and the people and to the ideals of socialism are selflessly active here—we must be filled with consternation by the many shortcomings, the expression of which is, among others, the fairly low ideological standard of a considerable number of Communists, their passivity, their unwillingness, and frequently also inability to explain, defend, and assert party policy in the place where they work and live. The strengthening of the ideological influence of Communists on the environment in which they are active is the prerequisite for the assertion of political methods in the party activity and thus also for the deepening of its leading role, for the strengthening of its authority and capability of action, for the effectiveness of political-organizational measures in all its components—from the center to the primary organizations. This is possible only when they themselves will be convinced about the correctness of party policy, when they will clearly see and comprehend its future-oriented nature, when they will fully identify with its objectives.

In our party there exists the system of the political education of Communists, and one cannot say that it functions badly. At the end of the 1960's this system was smashed and had to be restored in the period of consolidation. The Central Committee Secretariat regularly addresses its activity, and every year determines the orientation of its content and assesses its results. The same thing is happening in the party's regional organizations. Now we face the task of interconnecting the system of political education with restructuring and making use of it in the primary organizations to effectively help Communists in enterprises, plants, and all workplaces to be at the head of its realization, and to assume the initiative in the struggle for restructuring in accordance with the conclusions of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee session.

When we said that the system of political education functions, on the whole, satisfactorily, this does not mean that we do not see its problems. It is precisely these problems that have led us to transfer its focal point to primary organizations and to try to eliminate from it pedantry, formalism, and the overestimation of the organizational aspects of schooling. The Houses of Political Education, which operate in all districts, and the Cabinets of Political Education, which exist in a number of large enterprises, will continue to fulfill their duties concerning the training of propagandists and lecturers. However, they must arm them better with facts and arguments, which they need for their activity in specific collectives. This is only possible with the active cooperation of the enterprise, plant, or local party committees. A propagandist, a lecturer who appears in front of people having worries and problems of which he knows nothing, can hardly influence anyone. It is the same when he discusses issues that he himself has not studied.

Political education must be connected with the mass political work of the Communists. It may in no case sidestep issues which preoccupy party organizations, work collectives, and citizens. With this is also connected the need to make the flow of information more flexible through feedback. And not only make it more flexible, but, above all, to substantially improve the facilities which are ensuring it in respect of cadres and material-technical equipment.

It might seem that by this orientation we are weakening the attention of Communists to theoretical studies, to the duty enshrined in the party statutes of the 17th CPCZ Congress, which obligates them to assimilate the creative revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism. This, however, would be a serious misunderstanding. The ongoing processes in our society or in the world cannot be comprehended only on the basis of partial information about certain specific facts in which people are directly interested. However, we must proceed from them if we want people to understand us, and in the end grasp the generally valid conclusions of our theory and principles, on which the party bases its long-term strategy and its program. The effectiveness of propaganda and agitation lies, in the first place, in concreteness. We must thoroughly address that which arises from this requirement for the methods and forms of political-educational work.

From this viewpoint we must place greater demands on the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics and its department in Bratislava, as well as on regional political schools. We do not see theory as the sum of abstract truths; it is generalized experience, and it proceeds from the practice of revolutionary struggles. Enriched by a deeper understanding of this practice, theory addresses itself to it again. In so doing it helps it to change itself in accordance with the vital interests of the working people, and develops itself at the same time. Thus, in overcoming dogmatism, the role of theory as an instrument of revolutionary and progressive change without which the party could not fulfill its mission as the real vanguard of the workers class, of the people, must be more appreciated. At the same time we must see both aspects of the effect of the theory: the one which makes it possible for it to fulfill the function of a stimulant when it encourages incessant creativity, criticism, and the search for new ways, as well as the one with the help of which it enshrines the acquired findings in a composite system of views and provides the ideological foundation on which to unite the party and the people for a purposeful course in carrying out social changes. The orientation toward ideological and weltanschauung education, toward the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory, is of lasting validity in the political education of Communists as well as in the political-educational work of the entire society. However, we must realize that here desirable results can be achieved through methods and approaches that restrict it to enlightenment activity; that the political-educational work cannot be seen as separate from the complex of the effect on the thinking and feeling of man, on the molding of his character and moral qualities, his entire psyche.

The restructuring of ideological work also envisages overcoming rigid patterns which make differentiating among people and finding an approach to them impossible. All these abuses, which we are purging ourselves of only with great difficulty, although we have been pointing them out for years, are entrenched due to our own inconsistencies, which supplants our daily work with the people. There is no need to stress how harmful these abuses are, especially in ideological work.

For example, let us take education toward socialist patriotism and internationalism, which is the core of the weltanschaung education. Precisely from this education we can clearly see its difficulty as well as its shortcomings, which arise from its being isolated from people's concrete attitudes toward work and life. Loving the region in which one was born, loving one's country and fatherland, holding another country's progressive endeavor in esteem, hating any form of oppression and discrimination of man regardless of where he comes from, regardless of his nationality or the color of his skin—these are no decaying principles or propaganda slogans from the past now overcome by events. These are highly topical and contemporary demands addressed to everyone who lives in a society which the historical experience has steered to socialism, and which does not only proclaim its objectives, but which also is trying to implement them in life. However, to do this we need the effort of the entire ideological front—and not only its effort.

The Creativity of Socialist Patriotism [subhead]

I have already mentioned the importance of being well-versed in history, from which personalities symbolizing greatness as well as failure must not disappear; as well as

how dangerous it is to play with historical truth in the interest of temporary self-serving interests, or to manipulate it—for example, in a nationalistic or chauvinistic fervor. We rightly base our pride in socialism on historical knowledge, on the awareness that we continue the struggles waged by the preceding generations, and that we are increasing their value through revolutionary changes and by deepening them further. This is the foundation of the legitimacy of the position of the Communist Party in our society. It is no coincidence that almost the entire anticommunist propaganda machinery is trying to shake it and disrupt it, to—metaphorically speaking—trip us up. We must not permit anything of the sort. However, if we are to make this foundation truly unshakable, we must see to it that the historical revolutionary continuity is not interrupted in any way, that—having learned from the past—we are able to properly resolve today's problems, and to concentrate our attention and energy on it. Therefore, it is not enough to only preach patriotism and internationalism based on this or to display an affinity for socialism, but rather, to prove it by deeds.

The creativity of socialist patriotism can only show where the fatherland is not just an abstraction, but rather the real home of man, to which he is tied by the awareness of belonging. He can be inculcated with this awareness if he concludes that his interests are in harmony not only with the interests of society, but that the fatherland, the home of his ancestors and future generations, constitutes a greater value, one to which he cannot remain indifferent, the fate and the whole future of which must lie on his heart most of all.

We must admit that in the education toward such creative patriotism we have neglected much, including the fact that we have not taken into account changes in attitudes, especially those of the young generation. We also know how negatively the lack of patriotic and international feeling and thinking appears to many people, the consequences of which are a pacifist disposition, the lack of understanding of the importance of the young people's training for the defense of the fatherland, and also naive ideas about contemporary capitalism—a consumerist philosophy of living with its principle, that the "fatherland is where life is good." There is only one path to rectification: beginning with the family, with the emotional education which a child receives from his mother; at school, in all enlightenment and cultural facilities, mass media, social organizations, collectives; everywhere where we can exert influence on man, his views and attitudes, we must make education leading to creative socialist patriotism, and toward the international awareness which stems from it, a priority affair.

About what sort of education toward socialist patriotism and internationalism can we discuss when indifference predominates concerning the kind of relationship people have toward work, toward the environment in which they work and live, toward values which determine their way of life, toward culture and the arts, toward nature, toward the struggles of nations for progress, toward life in general? If we are only going to ask whether people identify with the Marxist-Leninist orientation or to what extent this orientation influences them, then we can be, more or less, satisfied—as surveys assure us. According to sociological data, more than 40 percent of our citizens identify with Marxism, and 40 percent are positively influenced by it. About one-fifth identifies with religious ideology, which—to a certain extent—influences roughly one-third of the population. However, sociological surveys have also ascertained a certain growth in the influence of bourgeois views, and among the youth the already mentioned consumerist philosophy for living.

Of course, the findings pertaining to people's thinking must be deepened and verified in daily contact with them. Nothing can substitute for such contact or a frank discussion with them. Should these contacts and this discussion be lacking, the results of the lecturing activity are considerably weakened. Thus, for example, in scientific-atheist education, in which particularly today we should not slacken, hardly anything will be achieved solely through lectures. An out-of-date enlightenment approach, if it is, moreover, connected with the noncomprehension of the emotional and psychological foundation of man's religious convictions, with a lack of tact and sensitivity, can do more harm than good here.

In view of the development and strengthening influence of the media, and especially of television and radio, we must reassess the work of propagandists, lecturers, and agitators. The lecturing activity must be consistently connected with the active impact on listeners, with discussions and chats in which differing opinions can crop up, various questions pop up, which can be satisfactorily answered only on the basis of facts and arguments. The teams of lecturers, which are active in the center, regions, and districts, and which are being used not only by party organizations, must be complemented by persons whose authority is based on good knowledge and exceptional work results, as well as on their ability to present matters in a popular way while comported well and with an attentive attitude toward people. In other words: by ranking personnel from all sectors, political personalities, scientists, writers, teachers, engineers, innovators, and so forth.

We also must overcome departmentalism [resortismus], which artificially separates propaganda from agitation. The division of labor and the concrete definition of tasks and personal responsibility are necessary everywhere. However, no borderline exists between propaganda and agitation; what is involved is the application of differing approaches which require an absolute coordination in overall political activity. The effectiveness of propaganda is provided both by its ability to make use of the results of theory and its ability to directly exert influence on every collective, every individual. That, of course, presumes the existence of a solid theoretical background [zazemi] as well as well-functioning agitation. There is no place for generality, abstractedness, vagueness, and

anonymity anywhere. When these make their way into the sphere of agitation, it becomes formalistic, useless, and may possibly even be annoying. Just as we should not tolerate phrases, lecturing, and the haughtiness of propaganda, so we should also avoid the unsuitable and poor taste in so-called political slogans, inscriptions, and symbols, which often even have a dubious decorative function, especially if we find them on dilapidated buildings surrounded by dirt and disorder.

The activity of the agitation centers must be assessed. The rules by which they abide must be amended and adapted to the new requirements of the mass political work, which should be decided by the primary organizations themselves and the local bodies.

The publishing houses of political literature merit greater attention. They publish books and brochures which are necessary. However, interest in many works is minimal. This must not lead us to make hasty conclusions. We must be able to arouse the interest of the broader public in political literature and be able to work with this literature. However, we must not abandon high standards in publishing activity. We must publish quality works rich in ideas and information. Solid and interesting works by foreign authors, including our ideological opponents, should not be lacking among them. We cannot talk about ideological confrontation without being thoroughly acquainted with such works. We must also resolve the issue of excessively long deadlines which considerably depreciate the publishing activity. There have been quite a few instances of books written for the occasion of certain important anniversaries being published after those dates. As a rule, the ponderousness of printing plants, the untenable state of which we already mentioned, is to be blamed for this.

The work with books is facilitated by the extensive network of libraries containing a wealth of stocks. There is a considerable interest in those publications, and this is, without a doubt, evidence of the high cultural standard of our people. However, libraries must be gradually equipped with modern technology. We also must reassess the directives on access to those stocks. Care for libraries must become a part of well-thought-out political and cultural-educational work, which would include the activity of museums, galleries, historical monuments, whose expositions should play a much more significant role than has been the case to date in the so necessary patriotic and international education.

On the whole, we must say that our political-educational work, propaganda, and agitation must be characterized by pragmatism, realism, truthfulness, and fervor for the cause of the party and the people, stemming from the firm conviction of the correctness of socialist ideals. They must exert influence on the mind, heart, and the will of man, strengthen him throughout his life, and lead him to an active participation in the common feat of socialist construction. Restructuring in this sphere must aim at this; in this we see its purpose.

Socialism Is the Feat of the Masses' Creativity [subhead]

In this we proceed from the Leninist concept of socialism, according to which socialism is a science and, at the same time, the feat of the masses' creativity. It is no doctrine which is sworn by, it is no fetish. Our people have embarked on the path of socialist transformations following a bitter experience, on the basis of dearly paid for lessons from their own history. It was, above all, the loss of freedom and the war that opened their eyes. Therefore, they decided to put an end to capitalism, to the system which nearly led the country to destruction, and to link their further fate with socialism—all the more so because the first one to save them and make it possible for them to take their affairs into their own hands, was the Soviet Union, the first country of socialism, which—with Great October—ushered in a new chapter of history, with which a considerable part of the workers class and many progressive people in our country even then enthusiastically identified.

Soon we will be commemorating the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's existence. We regard the birth of this independent state of Czechs and Slovaks, a state which is also the fatherland of other nationalities, as a significant historical landmark. In our eventful history, in which we were repeatedly faced by the threat of extinction, this anniversary is particularly dear to our hearts. But we also know that the 20 years of its existence which ended with Munich [in 1938] represented a period of difficult class battles and great trials. The CPCZ was the only one of all political parties existing at the time to pass all tests; it took its place at the head of the people's struggles for a better tomorrow and for a reliable guarantee of the state's existence, and it went with the people, never foresaking them, never hesitating to make every sacrifice for their vital interests, happiness, and freedom. This has won it broad recognition and made it the true representative of the major part of our society. This has also predetermined its further road, the road of revolutionary transformations carried out in the postwar period under specific conditions. We have been able to choose a relatively quiet form of our transition to socialism—the premise being, of course, that we could make use of the favorable international situation and of the fact that we had been liberated by the Soviet Union, which then became the shield protecting our freedom against external counterrevolution. The experience of the first country of socialism has also been of invaluable assistance to us.

The 4 decades since February 1948 (which definitely was decisive for Czechoslovakia's socialist development) have testified that our people's historic choice was the correct one.

This is proven quite clearly by the results achieved in the process of revolutionary changes, particularly in the development of the country and the status of workers. True, we could have achieved far more striking results were it not for the well-known deformations which have

marked our development (similarly to other socialist countries). But, of course, history does not recognize any "ifs." Thus, we must therefore come to terms with it on the basis of thorough analyses of all objective and subjective factors—without, however, tolerating in the appraisals the kind of dogmatism which wants to dictate subjective notions to history, to artificially accelerate its developments in line with these notions, and to skip whole stages and even eras. The propaganda which is based on such subjectivist positions, and which spreads and entrenches them, is extremely harmful and dangerous, although it could seem to have a mobilizing impact and to evoke "revolutionary enthusiasm." As we convinces ourselves on several occasions, it gives rise to illusions, which sooner or later result in skepticism and disillusionment.

Toward the end of his life V. I. Lenin seemed to sense what such a subjectivist approach can perpetrate, and warned against it with the utmost emphasis—particularly because it used to be concealed behind "revolutionary phrases," which Lenin probably hated most of all. Today it is our primary task to study particularly those of Lenin's works which set down the blueprint [narys], as he himself termed it, of the construction of the socialist home, and which contained his reflections not only on the general concept of socialism created by the founders of scientific socialism—Marx and Engels—but also (and mainly) on the course to be chosen for implementing this concept. He warned against any and all rashness, as is testified by the title of his last article: "Better Little but Good."

Thee works by Lenin must become part of our political education, which is oriented toward contemporary restructuring; they could even be called the foundation of the theory and methodology of restructuring (even though we implement restructuring primarily in view of the urgent need to resolve those tasks of the present). Lenin's works also make it obvious how false it is to believe that socialism represents a kind of "ideal model," one defined once and for all in the textbooks of scientific communism and intended to hold up the mirror to the wretchedness and imperfection of practical life. Its international validity is not the result of these definitions, but rather of the principles which are verified and affirmed by life (which does not adhere to any stereotypes). Lenin greatly emphasized this, showing that socialism can be solely the result of the "historical initiative" of the masses, that every country which embarks on the road of building socialism will add its own particular contribution to its creation, and that socialism can be created only through this joint work.

In this work the main thing is not to make individual revolutionary detachments identify themselves with another detachment. Rather, each of them should implement the generally valid, binding principles verified through practice, in harmony with the possibilities and needs of its own country and while fully respecting its peculiarities and specific historic conditions. The dialectics of the unity of the general, the specific, and the unique is one of the basic theoretical cornerstones of scientific socialism. We were very lucky in that our party followed these dialectics at a time when the nature of our country's socialist road was being decided upon, and that it also determined the direction of this road after the February Victory [1948]. The crisis which took hold of the party and society toward the end of the sixties, as well as the methods which were meant to resolve this crisis after January 1968, were mostly due to our having ignored these dialectics, this Leninist legacy.

This is not substantially changed by the fact that it happened under various banners—that the first one overlooked the peculiarities of our development, and then the international validity of Leninist principles. All the current attacks launched against our party and our country from anticommunist centers (and not only from there), as we could witness during the last few weeks in connection with the 20th anniversary of international assistance, are keeping silent about this basic fact. But without it not a thing can be understood in the history of socialist construction in our country; without it, one cannot appreciate wherein lies the real contribution of restructuring to our present: It lies in the full renewal [obnova] of the Leninist doctrine of socialism, in a really creative mastery of its generally valid principles, in enabling the opportunities and merits of socialism to fully develop with the implementation of these principles, and in preventing the deformations of socialism (rooted in the distant past) from regenerating and standing in the way of a further upsurge of socialism.

In the past we repeatedly dealt with these deformations. We were also forced to face them precisely at the time of the crisis, and we either coped, or honestly strove to cope, with many issues which are currently the subject of passionate disputes in other countries. This enables us to concentrate our forces on resolving our present problems—although, naturally, it does not absolve us of the primary duty of proceeding from the lessons learned in the past. We must not forget that the ability of certain deformations to regenerate does not die with their condemnation—this applies, for instance, to the personality cult, with its entire system of working methods and sectarian thinking. We must also keep in mind that the coming generation can become desoriented by the campaigns launched by the propaganda machinery of our class enemies. This makes it obligatory for us from time to time to revert to the past, to treat the past as a lastingly open textbook, to regard our present work from the viewpoint of historical experience. This will help us to overcome the obstacles standing in the way of the further advancement of our society, and at the same time to enhance the assertiveness of our entire ideological work.

One of the most fundamental lessons from the past is that when seeking and asserting new ways for development, we must not under any circumstances permit the weakening of the leading role of the Communist Party

and its links with the broad masses of the people. Fundamental changes can be carried out only under the guidance of the party, which abides by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and by the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, and which is the genuine vanguard of society, relying on the trust of the people.

When carrying out restructuring we must be aware of this at all times. At the previous CPCZ Central Committee session, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed: "...the most important thing is that if the revolutionary restructuring of socialist society is to be successfully accomplished, the party must strengthen its links with the workers class and the other working people. That means making a turn toward a broad and effective political-organizational, mass-political, and ideoeducational effort among people in all activities of the party bodies and organizations."

The Reality of the New Thinking in International Relations [subhead]

Comrades, our foreign policy, too, reflects the changes which we have begun implementing. In this sphere we must draw conclusions from the new phenomena and assimilate new approaches. Of late, international politics have been undergoing an unprecedentedly dynamic development, as some favorable trends have been appearing in world events. There is no doubt that the tension has eased, that a process of reducing confrontation has been initiated. The achievement of the agreement on the scrapping of Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is an exceptional success. This agreement is being implemented already, and it is the first real step toward nuclear disarmament, toward the implementation of the extensive program submitted by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in the declaration of 15 January 1986. Favorable trends also appear in other disarmament issues, and what is especially important, one has succeeded in overcoming the barrier of verification, which was practically blocking these negotiations for a long time. The efforts aimed at settling regional conflicts, too, are now yielding positive results. The United Nations is activating itself.

The new political thinking has become the expression of the comprehension of the changes in the contemporary world with its complexities and conflicts and, at the same time, in its singularity and entirety. It proceeds from the Marxist interpretation of the mutual context between the class and the all-human [vselidske], it is the Leninist answer to the critical point at which mankind has arrived with its feverish arms buildup while, at the same time, exacerbating the global problems of civilization. The new political thinking is developing the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. If we formerly interpreted this coexistence, in line with historical developments, as a condition for the peaceful construction of socialism, we today rightly see in it the condition for mankind's survival.

Recognizing the cardinal importance of all-human values is not a retreat from class viewpoints in assessing international developments; it does not mean that we underestimate or consign to the sidelines of our ideological work the exposure of the essence of capitalism and the intentions of capital in the international arena. Equally, we will have to continue to ideologically oppose various attempts to speculate with restructuring in the socialist countries, and to distort its purpose. There is no doubt that the conflicts, which are the reflection of the class-divided world, will continue. However, our endeavor is not to burden international relations and the solution of urgent issues with ideological disputes.

New thinking, and the domestic and foreign policy of socialist countries whose development is based on it, demonstrate to the whole world some basic facts, facts that are exceptionally important from the viewpoint of international developments, which bear out that one cannot visualize progress without socialism in the world today. Socialism is moving the interests and needs of the working man, the interests of international security and universal progress, into the center of its policy.

The growing trend toward the mutual interdependence of the states of the world community is coming clearly to the fore at present. This trend, along with the peaceful competition and contest between the two systems, reflects the true existing dialectics of contemporary development. The ability to multiply material wealth at an accelerated speed, on the basis of modern science and state-of-the-art technology, the ability to justly distribute this wealth, and to renew and protect by joint effort the resources necessary for the survival of mankind, is assuming crucial importance.

The transition to socialist forms of society's organization in itself does not ensure this ability. The socialist states will have to prove in competition that socialism can provide more than any other sociopolitical system; they will have to prove this by their economic successes, by a higher quality and productivity of individual and social labor.

It is apparent that no socialist country can advance successfully without understanding mutually advantageous cooperation and solidarity with other fraternal countries. The policy of restructuring for which we have opted compels us to examine thoroughly and from a broad perspective the development of this cooperation thus far, to furnish our cooperation with greater dynamism, to exchange experiences from socialist construction, to analyze them, and to put them sensibly to use in the process of restructuring, in the interest of further strengthening socialism.

In harmony with the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, Czechoslovakia will continue to devote paramount attention to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and to cooperation with the friendly countries. We regard the principles of mutual advantage,

a balance of interests, and shared responsibility for the fate and prestige of socialism with a view to increasing its role in international development, to be reliable foundations of this policy.

The current stage of historical development confronts the socialist states with a strict demand: to substantially quicken their step and achieve a pronounced improvement in the economy, science, and technology.

This year's 44th CEMA session in Prague adopted weighty decisions with regard to restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and the council's activity, including the solution of currency, exchange rate, and price issues; and with regard to the preparation of a concept of the international division of labor through the year 2005. These decisions establish prerequisites for attaining a qualitatively new level of cooperation within the framework of our community. We believe that, concurrently with internal reforms in our countries, it is necessary to thoroughly organize economic cooperation, in terms of both content and structure, particularly the activity of CEMA. If we fail to do so, we will find ourselves on the periphery of the world economy, which—if we bear in mind the longer-term perspective—would jeopardize the overall positions of socialism.

The quick advance of West European integration is a serious warning for us. It is necessary to reckon that after 1992 this process will give Western Europe a qualitatively new economic as well as political and maybe even military structure. The socialist countries would be incapable of competing with this capacity if they acted individually, in an isolated manner. It is therefore also from this point of view that we attach great importance to socialist economic integration.

The reality of new thinking and the victory of the principally new policy that is based on it—which recognizes the principle of peaceful coexistence as the universal norm of conduct on the international scene—depend to a great extent on the ability of capitalism to adapt itself to the conditions of a new and just economic order and to the conditions of an honorable comparison of the intellectual values of the two worlds. It is apparent that the understanding of the imperatives of the nuclear age (the need to reckon with realities in the interest of self-preservation and the realization that militarism, neocolonialism, and banking on strength in international relations ultimately undermine one's own chance of survival) is, no doubt, gaining ground even in the leading circles of the capitalist world. However, it would surely be naive to consider this factor alone.

An important, and to a certain extent decisive, factor that is capable of influencing the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries is the strengthening of the positions and the appeal of world socialism. The struggle of the workers class and of progressive forces for social, democratic, and national rights also depends on this. In this respect the consistent struggle of the communist, workers, and liberation movement, of all left-wing and democratic forces, against the nuclear catastrophe, and their struggle for the solution of ripened social, political, economic, and cultural tasks, are merging more than ever before.

The situation of nuclear confrontation makes it incumbent upon everyone to seek new ways and forms of relations between different social systems. The competition between capitalism and socialism can take solely and exclusively the forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest. This foreign policy concept that we uphold does not require socialism to renounce either its principles or its ideals. This means exploring and finding ways of an adequate application of these principles in the new situation; it means exploring and finding new approaches in the struggle for these ideals. Part of this is also the proposals of the CSSR, primarily the recommendation to set up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

Comrades, history is exposed to fortuities. We are confident, however, that a positive development will prevail, despite the dangers threatening the world today and despite its contradictions. This confidence is based on the fact that although the world socialist system is experiencing considerable difficulties, it is not retreating in their face but rather persistently seeks ways out of them, ways geared to a qualitatively higher level of economic, social, and intellectual life, and, at the same time and hand in hand with this, wages an offensive struggle to enforce new political thinking. It has scored the first results in this struggle and is enlisting steadily growing numbers of realistically-minded political figures and a formidable portion of the general world public.

We are aware of our duties and our responsibility. We shall contribute best to the common cause of socialism and progress through conscientious and good quality work for the further development of our homeland, Socialist Czechoslovakia. We have a clear program and experiences, and we are able to lean on a mature party and on people who are determined to move ahead. Let us therefore take up this work with even greater eagerness and zeal.

Comrades: We are discussing the tasks of ideological work. It is appropriate to convey from this rostrum thanks to all those who selflessly work in the ideological sphere with dedication and with fervor, to the staff of all its sections—social sciences, propaganda, agitation, journalism, culture, and education. It is, after all, impossible to take shelter on the ideological front and to await to see

how the battle will turn out. Everyone operating on this front has to stick his neck out. In the process of consolidation, the ideological front did a tremendous job. It defended, and continues to defend, party policy and the principles and ideals of socialism. Exposed to the assault of the enemies of socialism, it is thrusting the way open for new forms of social life, for a happy future of our country. We are firmly convinced that we can rely on it with full confidence, and that precisely at the present time, as we have entered the stage of new principal transformations—the stage of restructuring—it will do its utmost and apply all its talents and skills to bring this national cause to a successful conclusion.

The success of restructuring requires the further development of the party's ideological work and its upgrading to the level of present demands. Let us do everything we can for this task to be fulfilled.

World Jewish Congress Head Bronfman Visits

Arrives at Fischer Invitation

LD1610193288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, arrived in the GDR on a visit this afternoon. He comes at the invitation of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. On his arrival at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport Edgar Miles Bronfman was welcomed on behalf of the minister by his deputy, Kurt Nier.

Those accompanying the president include Rabbi Prof Dr Israel Singer, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress, and Dr Maram Stern, chairman of the European Union of Jewish Students.

Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs; Siegmund Rotstein, president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR; and Dr Peter Kirchner, vice president of the Association, were present at the welcoming ceremony.

Edgar Miles Bronfman will subsequently visit the Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Weissensee and the memorial on Grosse Hamburger Strasse.

Presented Award by Honecker

LD1710144588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 October 88 p 2

[ND headline—"High Award Presented to the President of the Jewish World Congress"]

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, was awarded the "Great Star of International Friendship" in Berlin on Monday [17 October]. The award was presented by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR Council of State, and other personages were present at the ceremony held at the official seat of the Council of State at Marx-Engels Square.

Edgar Miles Bronfman was accompanied by Rabbi Prof Dr Israel Singer, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress, Dr Peter Kirchner, chairman of the Berlin Jewish community and vice president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, and Dr Maram Stern, chairperson of the European Union of Jewish Students.

Erich Honecker said at the ceremony:

Dear Mr President,

In recognition of your important work for peace, understanding, and cooperation between the peoples, it gives me pleasure to award to you the "Great Star of International Friendship".

This high award is an expression of the extraordinary appreciation which the people and government of the German Democratic Republic have for your meritorious involvement at the head of the World Jewish Congress against fascism and war, for humanism and international security.

As a socialist German state, where the roots of facism, racism, and anti-Semitism have been eradicated once and for all, where the struggle for a secure peace is the supreme precept and a constitutional duty, and where racial and national hatred have no room, the German Democratic Republic fulfills the legacy of all fighters against fascism, militarism, and war.

We shall never forget that many Jews, together with communists, social democrats, and other progressive forces, were actively involved in the fight against the Nazi dictatorship. Today all Jewish fellow countrymen have found a true home in the German Democratic Republic.

In a few days time the German Democratic Republic will be remembering the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night of 9 November 1938. In this, dear Mr President, we know ourselves to be at one with all the forces of reason and good will in the effort to create a world free of fear and terror, free of wars and force, free of weapons of destruction, and of the arms race.

True to the humanistic, peace-affirming convictions, as expressed also by such important Jewish personalities as Albert Einstein or Max Liebermann, the German Democratic Republic will also in the future ensure that a threat against other states, people, and denominations, will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace will do so.

Please permit me, Mr President, to congratulate you cordially on behalf of the GDR Council of State as well as personally on this award. I wish you good health, creative power, and personal well-being as well as great successes in your work in the service of international understanding.

Edgar Miles Bronfman expressed his sincere gratitude for the award and said:

Mr Chairman,

I am accepting this order which you have awarded me on behalf of the German Democratic Republic in all humility. I have devoted my life to the building of bridges between peoples and nations so that the most important right of all, the right to live, can itself be maintained. I

have paid great attention to what you have said. And I believe, Herr General Secretary, that we are today building a bridge. Many thanks for the honor.

Received by Fischer

AU2010121088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [17 October] GDR Foreign Minister Fischer received Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, for an exchange of views on questions of mutual interest.

Oskar Fischer explained the GDR's foreign policy which is aimed at safeguarding peace, detente, and disarmament. This course takes into consideration the reality of the nuclear-space age and corresponds to the interests of all peoples. One must not permit a pause in the process of disarmament. It must be made irreversible through further agreements, in particular on the reduction of the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, the ban of nuclear tests and chemical weapons, and the reduction of the conventional potentials. As to date, the GDR will continue to constructively contribute to this.

At the sensitive borderline between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the GDR is making its own contribution so that never again will a new world conflagration start from German soil, but only peace. In this connection, Oskar Fischer explained the GDR's efforts for a stable peace and a policy of good-neighborliness that serves mankind and for the expansion of relations with the United States for mutual benefit.

The president of the World Jewish Congress stated that the body headed by him is energetically working for peace, disarmament, and the trusting cooperation of all states, peoples, and nations. It is its supreme concern to use all available possibilities to contribute to harmony, welfare, and security in the world.

Secretary General Israel Singer reported on the comprehensive international activities of the World Jewish Congress.

The interlocutors agreed that the noble goal of safeguarding mankind's survival is to be given utmost priority in politics and that all political steps and decisions must be directed at that.

Oskar Fischer stressed that the GDR commemorates the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night of 9 November 1938 in the spirit of its antifascist traditions and its duty for peace. In the GDR the ideals of the antifascist fighters have become an unshakable reality. The cultivation of the Jewish heritage is a concern of the entire society.

Oskar Fischer and Edgar Miles Bronfman emphasized the usefulness of the talks, which took place in an open-minded and constructive atmosphere.

Participants in the meeting were Kurt Nier, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs; Peter Kirchner, deputy president of the Jewish National Representation; members of the Foreign Ministry Ambassador Herbert Barth and Ambassador Manfred Niklas; Rabbi Israel Singer, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress; and Maram Stern, president of the European Union of Jewish Students.

On Monday Oskar Fischer gave a luncheon in honor of Edgar Miles Bronfman. The gathering was attended by: Werner Jarowinsky, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Friedhelm Grabe, state secretary in the Culture Ministry; Hermann Kalb, deputy state secretary for church affairs; Siegmund Rotstein, president of the GDR National Jewish Representation; Jochen Willerding, secretary of the FDJ Central Council; Rudolf Helmer, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Directorate of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters of the GDR; leading figures of the Foreign Ministry, and the president's entourage.

Also present was Francis Joseph Meehan, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

At the gathering Oskar Fischer and Edgar Miles Bronfman made toasts.

Fischer Speech at Honoring Luncheon

LD1810085288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 88 p 2

[Report on luncheon given by Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, in honor of Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, in East Berlin on 17 October—"The GDR Has Eradicated the Roots of Fascism and Anti-Semitism"—ND headline]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President Bronfman, ladies and gentlemen, dear comrades and friends:

It is with pleasure that I welcome you and your party in our midst once more, and I would like to congratulate you warmly on being awarded the "Great Star of International Friendship".

Your visit to the GDR comes at a time when international relations are beginning to take a turn for the better as a result of the efforts of all forces of reason and realism. The concluding by the USSR and the United States of a treaty on eliminating nuclear intermediate-range weapons and its implementation fills us with satisfaction. The GDR has made an active contribution to this, and will continue to do its utmost for disarmament, detente, and cooperation.

Of course, the dangers have not yet been warded off and a turn for the better is still not irreversible. The disarmament processes must therefore be continued without delay. We consider the next requirements to be the halving of the number of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons, with strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, the banning and destruction of all chemical weapons, and a drastic reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The GDR considers it its duty to support the struggle of all peaceloving forces for detente and disarmament with corresponding initiatives.

The international meeting for nuclear-free zones, which was proposed by the chairman of the GDR Council of State and which took place this summer in Berlin, united representatives from the most different convictions, religious convictions, and viewpoints. It bore impressive witness to the possibility of finding, over and above what divides us, common actions on the question which affects us all—mankind's survival. It is gratifying that disputes which emerge in international relations are increasingly being solved by peaceful means on the negotiating path. In many parts of the world regional conflicts are obviously moving toward a political solution. The most protracted regional crisis—the Middle East conflict—should be brought nearer to a peaceful solution by the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the equal participation of all directly involved sides,including the PLO and Israel.

Mr. President, we attach great importance to your visit at this time. This year we, too, are commemorating the people of the Jewish faith, whose time of suffering became horrifyingly apparent to the world with the fascist pogrom night in Germany 50 years ago now. We citizens of the GDR remember these fascist atrocities in the firm certainty that the roots of fascism and anti-Semitism have been eradicated once and for all in our society, that racial hatred and hatred of other peoples have no place, and that the struggle for peace is the supreme dictate and a constitutional obligation.

At the same time, this year is a suitable time to acknowledge the important contribution which the German Jews have made and are continuing to make to the history and culture of our people. They remain, as well as the Jewish people who led the fight against fascism together with communists and other progressive forces, an inseparable and respected part of our society. The exhibition "And the lesson is remembrance", which opened yesterday in the presence of Secretary General Singer [Prof Dr Israel Singer, secretary General of the World Jewish Congress] In the Ephrain Palace—which we have restored and which deals in a very impressive way with the lessons of the fascist persecution of the Jews—is just one example of the manifold activities with which we remember the millions of murdered Jews in the GDR and preserve and nurture the Jewish heritage. State and social forces give much help and support in respect of Jewish communities.

The Free German Youth has taken over the obligation of looking after the Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Weissensee and, in this way, commemorating the Jewish heroic victims of fascism.

In a few days' time there will be a symbolic stonelaying ceremony to mark the beginning of the reconstruction of the "New Synagogue Berlin". This significant Berlin building should be erected again and filled with life. It should stand open for coming generations, for Jews and citizens of other beliefs and world views, as a place of commemoration, of meeting, of prayer, of remembrance and reminder, as well as a place of research.

"Nathan the Wise", a work which is on the curriculum of the higher classes of schools in the GDR, continually comes into the program of the Berlin "Deutsches Theater". In the parable of the Ring Gotthold, Ephraim Lessing allows his Nathan to say the following: A person can consider his belief to be the true one, but as long as no wise person can settle and dispute it, it is the feeling, thinking, and acting of the holder which determines the value of the belief.

The great poet's exquisite thoughts can stand at the same time as a leitmotiv for our policy of dialogue, with which we have set ourselves the goal, over and above what divides people, of acting together with all forces of reason and realism in order to avert from mankind the danger of a nuclear inferno.

Mr. President, today's meetings have emphatically proved that the serious political dialogue which the GDR has been conducting in the spirit of its anti-fascist traditions with representatives of the Jewish faith—and I'm thinking here of Rabbi Dr. Miller and his organization—and which, notwithstanding the latest decisions of the outgoing U.S. Administration, will lead to a solution which takes into account the interests of both sides, and is indeed a suitable and indispensable means of making progress for the solution of problems. I am convinced that new impulses for mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation will originate from the talks.

In this spirit, I ask you, esteemed guests, to raise your glasses with me and drink to the successes of our joint struggle against war and the danger of war, for the friendship among peoples, for the preservation and safeguarding of peace!

'Certain Renewal' of Israeli Ties Considered

LD2010113188 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, today described his talks with Erich Honecker and other personages as very good and frank. At a press

conference at the conclusion of his visit, he expressed his satisfaction with two areas. Bronfman named the GDR's moral attitude which the GDR adopts toward responsibility for the Holocaust as the first and most important. The second concerned payments to the survivors. Relevant negotiations have been concluded. The president also expressed being pleasantly moved by the republic's great efforts to impress the Jewish religion and traditions upon young people, to keep alive the memory of the past, and to give the Jewish community a secure future. Erich Honecker stressed that anti-Semitism is not permitted in the GDR. If, however, it should raise its head, then the state will use all its instruments of power in order to smash it.

Bronfman added that if this were sufficiently well known in the United States and Israel then relations could certainly improve significantly. In this context the Jewish representative remarked that he would also support an invitation from the United States for a visit by Erich Honecker and the granting of most-favored-nation status to the GDR in mutual trade. He intends to discuss this with the State Department in Washington.

Erich Honecker recognized Israel's right to exist without reservations. A certain renewal of mutual relations is being seriously considered in the GDR. As Bronfman announced, visitors from both the United States and Israel will arrive in Berlin for the memorial events on the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night.

'Satisfied' on Holocaust Payment

LD1810160788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 88 p 1, 2

[Report on press conference given by Edgar M. Bronfman in East Berlin on 18 October—"Talks in the GDR Were Very Good and Candid"—ND headline]

[Text] Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, has at the conclusion of his several-day visit to the GDR described his talks with Erich Honecker and other personalities as very good and candid.

At an international press conference in Berlin on Tuesday [18 October], Edgar Miles Bronfman began by stressing that he is completely satisfied in two areas. The first—and this seemed to him the most important—is the moral standpoint which the GDR adopts toward responsibility for the Holocaust. The second concerned payments for the surviving sufferers from the Holocaust. He has been clearly informed that negotiations between the GDR Government and the so-called claims conference have been concluded and that the working out of details and their implementation would be settled in reasonable amount of time. I am completely satisfied with the results, he said.

During the press conference Edgar Miles Bronfmann said in reply to relevant questions that he was very positively impressed not just by the fact that Herr Honecker has said no one must forget what had happened, but equally by the fact that great efforts are being undertaken here to bring Jewish religion and Jewish tradition close to young people and also to represent them in the museum which he visited on Monday [17 October] Bronfman described the exhibition on display at the Ephraim Palace since Sunday on the contribution by German Jews to the historic, cultural, and scientific legacy of the German people as a very wonderful thing. He hopes that it will later travel to the United States, Israel, and many other countries.

He was very surprised and delighted to learn from a conversation with three 15-year-old girls that the Jewish religion is dealt with in their lessons in the ninth grade. They are among the young people who are voluntarily tending the Jewish cemetery in Berlin. The authorities in their wisdom regard it as right for these young people to be informed about the Jewish religion so that they may carry out this task correctly.

In response to the question of whether his often announced intention of "building bridges" had been reciprocated on the part of the GDR, Edgar Miles Bronfman said that after all his discussions with official GDR representatives he has the impression that he was thoroughly welcome. He is convinced that in the course of time still better relations would develop from already good ones. He is concerned with building bridges between the GDR and the American people and government, as well as between the GDR and the people and Government of the State of Israel.

The president added: I am not sure whether people in Israel and the United States are sufficiently aware of the efforts undertaken by the government here to keep alive memories of the past, to give the Jewish community a secure future, and to ensure complete understanding between Jews and Gentiles. He is convinced that knowledge of this would significantly improve relations.

Asked about relations between the GDR and Israel, Bronfman replied that he is no diplomat, he represents neither Israel nor the GDR. However he has been led to believe that a certain renewal of relations between the two countries is being seriously considered here. He is hoping and praying that this will come true in the not too distant future.

In response to a question of whether he would support an invitation for Erich Honecker to visit the United States and the granting [Gewaehrung] of most-favored nation status for the GDR by the United States, Bronfman remarked, on the basis of what had already been said, he would probably approve of both. He intends to discuss this with the State Department and to enquire about their problems. From a Jewish viewpoint he certainly sees no reason why the GDR should not be granted most-favored nation status and why Honecker should not be invited.

Rabbi Prof Israel Singer, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress, also took part in the press conference, and answered a question on the work of the Jewish community in Berlin. He had the opportunity to meet probably the largest part of the Berlin community over the weekend during the Sabbath. During this time he met Jews of the most varying kinds—practicing, strictly religious ones, and those who were culturally, historically, or biologically defined as Jews. In such a small community as this it is very difficult to make distinctions. He went on to say: We are used to working with small communities. In this case, of course, it is the remainder of a once large and important Jewish community. But Mr Kirchner and his aides are making the greatest efforts. The World Jewish Congress will make efforts to support the Jewish community in Berlin, not only physically and morally but also by exchanging people.

Asked about the attitude of his organization toward the Middle East problem, Edgar Miles Bronfman pointed to UN Resolutions 242 and 338. If the PLO were to recognize these resolutions they would find it very easy to reach a settlement with the Israeli Government. The dispute, which has already lasted too long, must be settled on the basis of Israel's right to exist and the Palestinians' right to exist. They should exist together side by side, the president of the World Jewish Congress added. Israel's security is close to the hearts of all Jews, including his own.

When he spoke with Erich Honecker on Monday [17 October], the latter had without reservation recognized the right of Israel to exist. He had submitted the standpoint that an international peace conference convened by the United Nations should solve the problem. Visitors both from the United States and Israel would come to Berlin to the forthcoming commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night, Edgar Miles Bronfman said.

Prof Dr Israel Singer and Dr Peter Kirchner, chairman of the Berlin Jewish community, answered a question about the former Berlin Jewish community Adass Jisroel. Dr Peter Kirchner pointed out that the cemetery of this community had been restored with state funds and support from the churches. There are no living members of this community in the GDR's capital.

In answer to questions on the amount of the prospective payments to survivors of the Holocaust, Bronfman stressed that he had said everything necessary on this subject. I would like to repeat that I am satisfied with what I have been promised here, he said. And I am also firmly convinced that the GDR will keep its word and that we will also be satisfied in the future.

The president stressed in his speech that General Secretary Honecker had assured him and confirmed that anti-Semitism is not permitted in the GDR and that if it were to rear its head, then the state would use all its power to smash it. And he [Bronfman] believes this.

Finally, the president of the World Jewish Congress guaranteed further support to the Berlin Jewish community. A rabbi had been sent to Berlin already for the high feast days in September and this practice will be continued. In this connection Edgar Miles Bronfman announced that he had assured the "New Synagogue Berlin-Centrum Judaicum" of his personal support.

Seen Off by Officials

LD1810132388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text) Berlin (ADN)—Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, ended his visit to the GDR today.

He was seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on behalf of the foreign minister by his deputy, Kurt Nier. Present were Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, the chairman of the Jewish community of Berlin, and Dr Peter Kirchner, vice president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR.

Karpov Denies Unilateral Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU2010111388 Budapest MAGYRAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[MTI report: "Karpov Denies Troop Withdrawal Plan"]

[Text] In an interview with the French daily LE FIGARO, the leading Soviet disarmament expert Viktor Karpov described Soviet concepts for the reduction of conventional arms. Viktor Karpov denied Western rumors that the Soviet Union was preparing a unilateral withdrawal of its troops from Hungary.

Viktor Karpov said in his interview that the Soviet side envisages a three-stage reduction of conventional weapons in Europe. In the first stage, the countries in Europe would provide information about the national and foreign military forces stationed on their territory, including their weapons. According to the Soviet view, this stage could last 1 to 2 years.

The second stage would have to be prepared during this time, in which the two military blocs would reduce their armed forces and arms by 500,000 troops each. In the third stage, the Warsaw Pact and NATO would further reduce their armed forces to a level in which neither of them would be able to launch a surprise attack or conduct offensive military operations against the other.

The Soviet Union has already proposed to the 35 countries participating in the CSCE conference that they establish a risk-control center in Europe to assist this plan.

"I will not conceal the fact that our proposal has not been received favorably in Paris," Karpov added. "There is no such thing as a unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops, as the Western press claims we intend to do in Hungary. The future negotiations will also deal with our troops stationed in Hungary."

Romanian Peace Group Declines Meeting Invitation

LD2010020588 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—Following a statement by its board on September 29, the Hungarian Peace Council (HPC) addressed a letter to the Romanian National Peace Committee. In June, the letter ran, the HPC had called upon the peace-loving people of Romania to promote humanist co-existence and joint thinking. Now the HPC was suggesting holding a bilateral peace meeting and consultation.

"We would welcome a meeting between the leaders of the two peace movements in Oradea and Debrecen between November 3 and 4," said the HPC and also expressed its readiness to meet in Budapest or Bucharest. The Hungarian Peace Council proposed a discussion of the following topics: information about the domestic tasks of both movements, confidence-building and strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries, cooperation in fostering cultural traditions and education for peace, and a survey of international issues, including the contribution of the two movements to the socialization of the CSCE process.

"We are convinced that, rather than an absence of direct relations for a long time, a dialogue would be mutually beneficial to our peoples," the letter stressed.

According to the telegram received in reply, the "domestic policy programme of the Romanian National Peace Committee is too busy" on the proposed dates. At the same time, they wished to study the possibility of meeting at a later date.

For the time being, there will be no consultation between the Hungarian and Romanian peace movements. The Hungarian Peace Council seeks to establish correct, balanced cooperation. This also means that the readiness of cooperation at the highest level by the Romanian side should be demonstrated by practical steps as well, said the Wednesday [19 October] statement of the HPC.

Labor Official Halmos Discusses Right To Strike

LD1010041088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 88

[From "The Week" program; interview with Csaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Halmos] Generally, in the countries where strikes are legally regulated, strikes are first and foremost of an economic character, and the political character in general is excluded. [passage omitted] I, in any event, believe, and in this my opinion is identical to that of those who are most affected, the trade unions, that if we regulate strikes in Hungary, it would pertain to economic demands; political strikes would not be permitted.

[Reporter] However, regulation is lacking, because there is no strike law. What will happen in the future? If, for instance, with a little exaggeration, there were strikes everywhere—strikes in the canteens, the miners go on strike, the teachers and healthworkers threaten to strike—in such an event some kind of regulation would be necessary. What is expected?

[Halmos] Yes. It appears that strikes are a new phenomenon in society. At the same time, my opinion is that there have been work stoppages for some years, that they exist now, and that they will occur in the future, too. The government's position at the moment is that it recognizes the strike as a tool, a system of tools, suitable for asserting the workers' demands. At the same time, we add that it is a final means, a final means that must be preceded by various other types of negotiations, or, for example, by licenses such as the right of veto.

That is one thing. Therefore, we have to acknowledge the interest conflicts, whose revelation and resolution will be necessary in society in the future. In accordance with this, a system of institutions must be created. It follows from what I said that it is necessary to accomplish legal regulation. Our opinion on this at the moment is that a detailed regulation of the right to strike must be included in the labor code— that is, the highest-level legal regulation.

[Reporter] When?

[Halmos] It is not now that the work has gotten underway in the State Office for Wages and Labor, at least, not in connection with the events of the past months. We have been dealing with this issue in detail for roughly 1 year, and all the more so since Hungary in 1986 affiliated itself with one of the United Nations' very important international documents, in which it acknowledged the right to strike, and accepted an obligation to regulate the right to strike.

Properly speaking, from this time we have been gathering international experiences, and we have been working out the fundamental principles of the right to strike. At the most recent Council of Ministers-SZOT [National Trade Union Council] leaders' meeting, we discussed these fundamental principles. There is agreement between the trade unions and the State Office for Wages and Labor on the essential issues.

I envisage that roughly within 3-4 months, in connection with a narrowly based social debate, we may reach the point of submitting to parliament the regulation pertaining to the Labor Code.

[Reporter] This means, therefore, that in the coming 3-4 months, you do not consider any such type of measure to be necessary. So, until then, will everything remain as it is?

[Halmos] I think that in the coming 3-4 months we will have to live with there being a lack of regulation. If to date we have been able to live with this, perhaps we shall be able to bear it in the next 3-4 months. After that, in a legal regulation, on the basis of a social consensus, things concerning who can organize strikes, when strikes can be organized, and other similar issues, will become clear to everyone.

Government must take note of the genuine interest conflicts which, in many cases with justification and sometimes without, lead to a collective of workers resorting to this final means. So it, in any event, is a warning to the government, which requires thorough analysis and examination.

At the same time, the new regulation will clarify the situation in that it will precisely determine when it is possible to organize strikes, for which demands it is possible to organize strikes, what are the obligations of the organizers and implementers of strikes, what the obligations of the employers are in this regard, and other similar issues. So I think that when the matter becomes organized is directed into an organized channel, it will by all means be a very important warning for the government, and it will demand measures accordingly.

[Reporter] Allow me to ask: When is it possible, or justified, to organize strikes?

[Halmos] As I have mentioned, the general regulation is for fulfilling economic demands. It will not be possible to organize political strikes, according to our current plans. It will not be possible to organize strikes in order to achieve actions or objectives conflicting with the Constitution, or, for example, it will not be possible to organize strikes in order to obtain a review of an existing agreement in a collective contract. At such times that is not the solution. At such times, the solution is that the collective contract agreement must be brought out and shown to the sides affected, and new agreements must be concluded. So, all these cases would be described as illegal strikes, and the legal regulation would regulate these issues accordingly.

[Reporter] I think that I ought to ask the following, rather, to a trade union official, but I assume that you as well have an opinion on it: During the time of a work stoppage, the workers, naturally, or maybe not naturally, do not receive wages. There are, however, countries where there is a strike law, and at such a time, either the trade union or some other channel gives money to the workers. If in our country there will be an organized, legally permitted strike, from where will the workers receive pay or wages?

[Halmos] For the period of the strike, it will be necessary for the trade union to see to sources that would constitute some type of provision for the workers during this period. This is a generally accepted principle, not just in international regulations, but also in (everyday) practice as well, that wages cannot be paid for the period of a strike. This is a consequence and conclusion stemming from the employment relationship and from other clauses of the Labor Code.

At the same time, I would like to add that this is not contradicted by the fact that numerous issues connected with strikes, which affect the employement relationship, will have to be formulated positively in the modification of the Labor Code. For example, the period of a strike will be considered as employment. The period of a strike will not constitute any type of limitation concerning social insurance benefits. There is one critical point: It will not be possible to pay wages for the period of a strike, because the workers will have not done the work for which wages are due.

[Reporter] What will happen after the strike, if workers go back to work, with the organizers of the strike and with those who participated in the strike? Will any kind of reprisal be possible?

[Halmos] In the event that we qualify the strike as legal on the basis of the relevant regulations, the employers' prohibition very resolutely states that they cannot take action with any type of legal consequence vis-a-vis the worker for participating in the strike.

[Reporter] If the larger part of the factory wants to strike while a smaller proportion of workers do not, how will it possible for solidarity to evolve?

[Halmos] Everyone takes part in a strike voluntarily. Insofar as any kind of type of coercion to strike arises, it is [word indistict] by court means, and must be handled accordingly. Thus, it is a very rigorous regulation that strikes can be organized only on a voluntary basis.

Party, SZOT Officials Meet on Union 'Renewal'

LD1910203088 Budapest MTI in English
1405 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—Representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] Political Committee and the Presidium of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) held talks on issues of concern to society, and conceptions related to the renewal of the trade union movement, on Wednesday in the SZOT Headquarters.

Among the members of the Political Committee, the meeting was attended by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, Janos Berecz and Miklos Nemeth, secretaries of the Central Committee, and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state. Also present was Istvan Petrovszki, head of department of the Central Committee. The SZOT Presidium was represented by Sandor Nagy, general secretary of SZOT, Pal Csikos and Ferenc Solyom, secretaries of SZOT, and the general secretaries of five sectoral trade unions.

Members of the SZOT Presidium briefed the representatives of the HSWP on issues which draw the attention of the membership, and the main aims of the national trade union conference to be held in early December. There was agreement that the national conference should launch a lengthier process of renewal to result in the creation of an organization that well protects and represents the interests of the workers.

The trade unions support the endeavours of the HSWP which aim democratic building of socialist society, and as they also work to this end, wish to participate in shaping the party's strategy.

The sides also agreed that principal, political partnership relations should be intensified in the cooperation between the party and the trade unions.

Election Law Drafts To Be Submitted for Debate

LD1610202988 Budapest MTI in English
1947 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—In the days to come the Patriotic People's Front and the government are to present to a public debate the draft amendment to the law on the election of parliamentary deputies and local council members. The main features of the new regulations, based on extensive professional debates, were summed up by staff members of the Patriotic People's Front and the Council of Ministers. The HSWP Central Committee took a stand on the main directions of the amendment to the electoral law in its June 1988 session. The statement and the reasons were published in the dailies. Relaying on the political statement and the conclusions of the analyses, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Justice framed a draft amendment which was accepted as a basis for a public debate by the Council of Ministers. The chief goals and directions of the amendment can be summed up as follows: It should become more clear who represents whom and under what programme, the political content of parliamentary elections should be more expressly separated from that of the local ones, the elections should strengthen social openness, democracy and local self-government, the legal guarantees of the elections should be extended.

The draft is open, and some of its regulations include two or three options. New proposals emerging in the public debate will also be considered.

The electoral law will be amended as part of a comprehensive reform of the system of political institutions. In view of this reform, the political organizations founded in keeping with the Constitution and organized in a way differing from the previous practice cannot be excluded from the elections.

7,000 Remember Father Popieluszko in Warsaw

AU2010081988 Paris AFP in English
2347 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Oct 20 (AFP)—Seven thousand people attended a mass Wednesday night on the 4th anniversary of the assassination by Polish political police of Solidarity priest Jerzy Popieluszko, correspondents reported.

Several hundred anti-government demonstrators gathered after the ceremony outside the capital's Saint Stanislas Church where Father Popieluszko preached.

The protestors carried banners of the banned KPN, the Confederation for the an Independent Poland, and shouted pro-Solidarity slogans.

They dispersed peacefully a few minutes after being ordered to do so by security forces. [passage omitted]

Boycott of University Military Studies Department

LD1910193288 Warsaw PAP in English
1743 GMT 19 Oct 88

["Plus Ratio Quam Vis" [Reason Rather Than Force]—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—Today's edition of the GAZETA KRAKOWSKA (Krakow Gazette) published an article under the same title saying in part:

"Already for a week classes in the Military Studies Department of the Jagiellonian University have been boycotted. There are pickets in front of the the department's facilities—destroyed after a rally staged at the university, with the permission of university authorities, on October 11th,—and the few students who want to attend classes are barred from doing so. The organizers of these excesses, that is members of the illegal "Freedom and Peace" (WIP) organization, supported by the already known from the past and similarly illegal KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland) and NZSS (Independent Students Union), protest in this way against the military training of students. Leaflets calling for active support of the boycott of the classes are being distributed.

"A part of the students of the Academy of Mining and Metalurgy joined this rowdy action, and at Tuesday's rally on the campus it was announced that it would spread to other higher schools. Attempts are also being made at boycotting political economics, socio-political studies and sociology classes at the Jagiellonian University.

"The pamphlets postulate that these subjects be dropped altogether. Similarly as in the case of military studies aggressive pickets stop these classes from taking place. Thus, not reason but force rules at the Jagiellonian University.

"Political adventurism, moral blackmail, lies and manipulation of information are the methods which are used by the organizers of the present unrest in Polish higher schools. Writing about this it is impossible not to ask a number of questions: Is this how autonomy, self-management, democracy and pluralism are to look like in higher schools. Will this be the contribution of the academic milieu to the preparations for the 'round table.' Are these the attitudes and actions which society should expect from its elite which the academic milieu is or rather should be. How do the authorities of the higher schools imagine the elimination of this state of affairs and prevention of similar occurences in the future."

13 Oct Meeting of 'Reactionary Extreme' Remarked

LD1910221688 Warsaw PAP in English
2100 GMT 19 Oct 88

["Once Again the Same Thing"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—For Poland today everything that serves the building of reconciliation and consolidation of the nation, "jerking" the country in a positive way, is worth its weight in gold. The idea of the "round table" serves just that. And vice versa—that which does not serve the supreme reasons of nation and state demands unequivocal judgement.

On October 13th Premier Rakowski proposed in his Sejm address an alliance to everybody to whom common sense dictates the mobilization of strength for the good of Poland.

On the same day a different meeting took place in Poland which was also an expression of mobilization and alliance but in the name of totally different reasons.

On October 13th—as the government press spokesman has already stated during his latest press conference—a meeting took place between: Bronislaw Geremek, Jacek Kuron, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Zbigniew Bujak, representatives of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), "Fighting Solidarnosc," the "Liberation" federation, the so-called Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the "Freedom and Peace" (WIP) movement, the "Polish Policy" group, the "Independence" Liberal-Democratic Party.

The meeting was presided over by leader of the KPN Leszek Moczulski. It was organized in connection with the "round table" talks. The majority of the participants were representing illegal groups, programatically anti-socialist, which programatically negate the idea of reconciliation, which programatically strive—and this must be stressed—towards a national conflict, confrontation, towards overthrowing the system by force.

And so this is an alliance and mobilization of the whole reactionary extreme. In the name of what cause? Certainly not in the name of the ways and means of

reforming the national economy. Certainly not with the intention of co-participating in the solving of the problems which preoccupy society.

This alliance of all confrontation-oriented forces gave its instructions and full powers to Lech Walesa as regards the talks on trade union pluralism, their model and the scope of their actions. The overt opponents of the socialist system like Leszek Moczulski and Jacek Kuron, far from the workers' life and the trade unions' problems, surely did not discuss work safety nor did they ponder on tens of other workers' problems.

At a time when the idea of the "round table" is approaching, when conditions are emerging for discussion, without any pre-conditions, on every question important for Poland, the reactionary alliance started its counteraction in order to aggravate the socio-political situation, to radicalize the attitudes.

Opponents of dialogue and agreement came to the open. Is it surprising. No, it is not. One should expect that the people who as a result of national agreement are being pushed aside will not easily give up their goals which they have for years publicly announced, that they will do their best to repeat the year 1981 when they drove Poland to the brink of an abyss. While not drawing any conclusions from the past they still do not feel guilty or responsible for what they have done to the people and Poland.

Their watches stopped at that time. And time does fly. That of today can be termed as the time of rising hopes and chances, upsurge of realism and common sense. The forces for agreement are growing stronger rather than weaker. One can be sure that all those who seek a round-table agreement will throw this confrontation-oriented alliance on the scrap-heap of the history of the year 1988.

PZPR CC Politburo Adopts Consolidation Plan

LD2010003788 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—At its meeting on Tuesday, [18 Oct] PUWP CC Political Bureau adopted the assumptions of the National Economy Consolidation Plan.

The Political Bureau said that the assumptions presented the essence of the socio-economic policy thanks to which it will be possible to realize the tasks assigned by the 10th PUWP Congress and the 3rd and the 8th PUWP CC plenary meetings.

It is necessary to concentrate economic means, reform-oriented energy and actions of the social forces on:

—improving market supplies, facilitating shopping, developing services,

—arresting the rapid growth of prices, curbing the depreciation of the zloty and curing it,

—improving the situation in housing, preventing further degradation of natural environment,

—eliminating bureaucratic barriers and other hardships of everyday life.

In order to reach this, it is necessary to move appropriate economic means to the preferential domains, introduce strict austerity regime, open all possibilities to undertake and develop economic activity in all branches of the economy.

It is necessary to work out an efficient and stable economic system, to base the income-price policy on new principles, new cadres policy and systemic-and-structural solutions, to guarantee an efficient management of the economy at all levels.

The Political Bureau recommended to submit the assumptions of the plan for consultation with workers during a national conference of workers activists.

Participants in the meeting acknowledged that concluding a new social agreement with the support of various social groups, as suggested by the OPZZ, could be a good road to reaching social consensus as to the goals of the Consolidation Plan. The draft of the Consolidation Plan should be a subject of the "round table" discussion, they said.

Turowicz Views Political Pluralism, Church

AU0510102788 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 2 Oct 88 pp 1, 7

[Article by Jerzy Turowicz, chief editor of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY: "Some Observations About Political Pluralism"]

[Text] Not so long ago, the term pluralism was a prohibited term, but now everyone talks about it; this is a result of present changes. The opposition continues to demand pluralism in trade unions, the economy, and political life. Representatives of the government and the allied parties continue to talk about pluralism, adding to it the adjective socialist, although it is not too clear what socialist pluralism really means.

There is no irony in my words, because pluralism is really a very favorable and desirable phenomenon. People now generally agree that it will be impossible to overcome the present economic and sociopolitical crisis without pluralism. However, we should accurately define the meaning of pluralism.

If it is necessary to expand the social base of and reform the government system, to attract to political life the independent communities which remain outside the

political system or even oppose it, and to include members of these communities in representative bodies and in the power apparatus, this must not be done by advanced, arbitrary individual selection or by appointing a kind of opposition. Independent political forces which are outside the political system should be able to set up their own organizations, to publish their own programs, to enjoy free access to the mass media, and to exert a real influence on public opinion in order, if possible, to enable their representatives to share in the system of political power.

We should hope that the bill on associations will create such opportunities and that new political groups, such as clubs for example, will begin to emerge. However, it is worth pondering what kind of political organizations can be accommodated in our country's present political reality. Both independent communities and the establishment continue to stress the need for new political factions (probably factions that are opposed to the present political system, because we already have those that are not opposed to it). The theses of the SD seem to suggest that it is necessary to set up such factions or parties, and not so long ago the Polish Ecological Party is said to have announced its establishment in Krakow and its willingness to attend the roundtable talks, although no one knows anything about its program and its social base. (This does not mean that one should question the first-rate importance of efforts to protect or even rescue our natural environment.)

I am convinced (certainly not only I) that the Polish situation is still not ripe enough for us to be able to set up new political factions or parties. Despite present efforts to democratize the system of real socialism—I do not make light of these efforts at all—I see as yet no place in this system for genuine and independent political factions or parties, which, instead of being members of some "single-front" coalition, would be able to play the role of critical opposition and fight for the realization of their own alternative programs, even if they had to give up their struggle for power, although such struggle is a normal right of political parties in the systems of political democracy.

The possibility of setting up a Christian-democratic party in Poland is a special problem. Everyone knows that demands for such a party have been made several times and that the matter has even been discussed in the Sejm. On the face of it, this demand is rather natural in a country in which over 90 percent of the inhabitants are members of the Catholic Church, which encourages Catholics to participate in public life. It goes without saying that a conscious Catholic who actively participates in political life should follow the precepts of the Holy Scripture and the principles formulated by the church's social teaching. However, one's professed religion does not dictate unequivocal political options. In the democratic countries in which Christian-democratic formations do not exist —as in Great Britain, for example—Catholics are active in various political factions and parties, which, it seems, does not cause any conflicts of conscience among them.

Imitation of the experience of Christian-democratic parties in a number of Western countries is not necessarily to be recommended. Let us add that the Catholic Church, too—although it encourages the faithful to participate in public life, as I have already stated—does not supply any clear directives in this regard. The Holy See, which not so long ago continued to support the Christian-democratic factions and parties in Italy, for example, has now withdrawn this support to some extent, which does not mean, of course, that it has withdrawn it completely. As regards closer examples—the Christlich-Democratische Union in the GDR and the Lidova Strana in the CSSR—it does not seem that the existence and achievements of these factions could constitute any useful model in our situation.

The issue of participation in political life by independent communities, including Catholic communities, is urgent and open. We must make every effort to search for roads along which those communities could exert a real influence on the shape of our sociopolitical reality and participate in solving burning problems of the moment, and along which our people could regain their full sovereignty. However, if it were at all desirable to set up some Christian-democratic faction or party, then this would have to take place under conditions of complete, multiparty, and pluralistic democracy. For the moment, it is more expedient to seek that which Marcin Krol has defined as a political minimum and to postpone more ambitious projects to the time when socialism with "a human face" has become reality on this earth of ours.

Orzechowski Speaks on Current Ideological Issues

On Interpretation of Socialism

AU1210133588 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7-9 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Grazyna Minkowska and Boguslaw Gajownik: "Dialogue Without Stereotypes"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Question] Poland is assuming a new political, economic, and social shape today. What used to be infallible truths are now falling apart. Some people are beginning to doubt whether the new features that are appearing are really socialism.

[Orzechowski] That is an ambiguous question. One can answer it by means of another—what is socialism? What do those who have doubts about socialism think it is? How can they be sure that what we are implementing corresponds to a socialist development pattern? If socialism is meant to be, on the one hand, a division of capital according to the rule "the same for everyone" whatever

his work results, and on the other hand all the means of production are in the hands of the state, the state is omnipresent and omniscient, there is central planning, and the party is responsible for everything and decides on everything, then of course one has to agree that everything we do is a departure from socialism in the above sense.

Ideas about socialism and the ways leading to it are undergoing a major change today, and not just in Poland. We are participants in and joint creators of a major breakthrough. Life itself is providing a firm new shape to old conceptions about socialism. We are rejecting everything that has failed the test of time and comparing it with reality. We are reaching for new, more effective solutions.

So what is left? That which has survived the storms of history, a world of values and objectives that forms the essence of socialism—in other words a human desire for social justice, self-fulfillment, freedom, social security coupled with interesting and properly-paid work, a secure old age, and many other things. That, in a nutshell, is the essence of socialism. However, all these values and objectives would be mere utopia without social ownership of the means of production and the leading role of the workers class and its party, a political force which by its very nature guarantees, as it were, a socialist economic and political order. [passage omitted]

[Question] Until recently, the idea that other political parties may emerge in Poland was unacceptable. Today this topic is no longer taboo.

[Orzechowski] This shows how criteria have changed and how our social life has become more democratic. However, what I really consider possible today are new associations, political clubs, new deputies caucuses, and so on.

[Question] How can one reconcile pragmatism, made necessary by present needs, with long-term objectives without indulging in cheap populism?

[Orzechowski] There is no wonder recipe. Useful and essential pragmatism may be and has to be reconciled with far-reaching objectives, but on one condition: We must know where we are going, we must have before us a vision of Poland on the threshold of the centuries. In any case, cheap populism is nothing extraordinary. One can avoid it, provided that society is told the truth, even the bitter truth. One must not promise mountains of gold. The interests and aspirations of various social classes, strata, and groups are frequently discordant and cannot always be reconciled and brought to a common denominator. That means that someone has to lose and someone else win. A politician must have the courage to say this, or else he becomes a mere demagogue.

[Question] So how can one make sure that Poland's development is not based on views and proposals that clash with each other?

[Orzechowski] One must reach accord and consensus as to basic issues. That is feasible. I see no other possibility.

On Party Training Goals

AU0310143888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 88 p 2

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 28 September central inauguration of the party training year in Warsaw: "The Party's Political Task Is To Win Over All Active Forces for the Cause of Changes Through Reforms"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we have begun the 8th year of renewal, struggle and accord as prescribed by the ninth party congress with considerable achievements and with feelings of frustration.

The opening of the new party training year is taking place at a difficult time. Delays in socioeconomic reforms and great discontent make it necessary to be militant and effective in action, to eliminate barriers to progress, and to create new conditions under which to unite and utilize the entire development potential of our people. The coming months can and should produce the expected breakthrough and open a qualitative new phase in realizing the decisions of the ninth and 10th party congresses and in creating a new form of socialism in Poland. We must not waste this chance.

The eighth party plenum has outlined basic tasks for today and the near future. The plenum's decisions concern the elimination of subjective barriers and the neutralization of objective barriers to our efforts to realize reforms, to improve the country's sociopolitical and economic situation, to promote national accord, and to transform the methods and style of the party's political work and of the ways in which its serving, leading, and guiding role is performed.

The creative idea of reform, which is contained in the "PZPR Program" and which has been detailed in the decisions of the sixth, seventh, and eighth plenums, is proof that our party is capable of being in charge of changes by reform. We are the only political force in the country which has a constructive program to overcome our crisis situation, to realize profound economic and sociopolitical changes, and to ensure lasting and comprehensive improvements in the quality of our people's life. To realize this program it is necessary among other things to carry out profound changes in the substance, style, and methods of party work. It is urgently necessary to create a new formula for the party's political activity and to jettison the ballast which hinders the effectiveness of party activities, enmeshes the party in formalism, red tape, and excessive accountability, and—most seriously—forces the party to attend to every issue and to

deputize for institutions and organizations responsible for various issues. Although the appropriate studies in this connection are continuing, it is already necessary—even before comprehensive solutions are established—to change the forms, procedures, and methods of practical activities. A critical evaluation of the effectiveness and performance of all party echelons—primary and plant organizations, the apparatus and cells, and executive bodies—is becoming the order of the day.

It is also necessary to create a new model of party leadership based on credibility and high social prestige. To be credible means to be authentic and effective in every situation and issue. To be party-like should indicate not only that one possesses principled and ideological integrity, but also and primarily that one is creative, militant, and in favor of the just causes of workers and the nation. We must enrich the the party's arsenal of means of political activities with negotiations and compromises as the ways of searching for the best solutions in the eyes of the people.

Today we know better than ever that we will not be able to carry out reforms by ourselves alone and that we must realize them in common with all our people. The party's political task is to win over all the militant forces for the cause of our reforms. It is impossible to produce a radical breakthrough, to improve the economy, and to alleviate social tensions without massive and constructively minded social militancy. The mutual dependence of militancy and effectiveness is the key to progress.

The party's ideological identity and militancy are now acquiring special importance. Ideological renewal amounts to a profound revaluation of the ways in which we view constitutional transformations, to the rejection of obsolete ideas, and to a new and creative approach toward ideology and its social functions. Many important questions emerge in the process of reforming the state and the economy.

We must persevere in searching for mature, complete, and satisfactory answers to those questions. Disorientation, mental chaos, doubts, and ideological disarray are side effects of the profound and rapid changes in Poland and in the world of socialism in general. We must counter those side effects if we want to be able to cope with mounting challenges.

We must promote theoretical discussions on a new model of socialism, one that is free from Stalinist distortions. However, at the same time, we must see that some minimum of "ideological order" is ensured. Only in this way will it be possible for the intellectual movement that has been increasing for some time, especially since the sixth party plenum, and which is extremely useful, to creatively verify and enrich socialist ideas and to counter the danger of diluting our political identity. Theory should also help to open and light the road of the changes that trigger the strength of the socialist system and eliminate subjective barriers and checks to its development. Theory must more often supply answers to the now frequently asked questions such as: "Why socialism?", "What is and what is not the crux of socialism?", "What kind of socialism?"

In a pluralistic society the discussion about Poland's ways to achieve development is pluralistic, and that is why the party's views in this discussion should be as obvious and as convincing as possible. As a party we must regain the intellectual initiative inter alia through intensive preparatory work for the Third National Theoretical-Ideological Conference and through the course of this conference. That work is entering its decisive stage. The discussion should develop primarily around three key doctrinal issues of socialist renewal:

—The essence, class content, and limits of Polish socialist pluralism in the context of the development of the idea of national accord;

—The types and forms of ownership, the ways of administering this ownership in the socialist state, the effectiveness of economic management, and social justice;

—The party in the reforming economy and in the state as well as functions, methods, and mechanisms that determine effective leadership under new conditions of activity.

Educational and agitation work continue to be in close connection with theoretical activities. Theoretical propositions acquire political value and effectiveness only if they penetrate social awareness and result in practical activities, that is, if they become material facts. On the other hand, the substance of ideo-educational and training work must be closely related to the development of theoretical research and investigations. The strong room, so to speak, containing ready made formulas and recipes is now locked, and let us hope it will remain locked forever. That is why training work should become a function of the ideological and intellectual movement in the entire party. With this in mind, we closely relate the contents of party training in the coming school year to work to promote the development of the theory of socialism. This should be done by the selection of suitable programs, subjects, and materials and by the suitable training of lecturers. In view of this, self-education and self-development and efforts to carefully watch discussions and disputes, to draw lessons from them, and to maintain unceasing contact with literature on given subjects are acquiring unprecedented importance. It is the duty of party cells to create better than ever conditions that make it easier to meet those needs.

Unceasing efforts to strengthen the ideological prowess of the party, especially of its aktivs, to unite party members around the most important political tasks, to clarify the essence of various undertakings, and to counter doubts and disbelief in the correctness of our

cause are important tasks. The response of some party segments to the idea of roundtable talks shows that it is necessary to thoroughly prepare the party for the expected political changes.

Esteemed comrades, for the past few months I have again taken charge of ideological and training problems as a member of the party leadership. Years continue to pass, but our tasks and challenges are not diminishing. On the contrary, we have more and more of them and they are more and more difficult. Your role as lecturers in ideological and educational work of our party is also growing. We all know how difficult it is today to conduct training and agitation work and to organize and create this work. However, the present difficult and complicated situation should mobilize us all for added efforts in the first place. Party integrity is twice as important during a party breakthrough, and the calling on the activist of the party's ideological front imposes special obligations.

Cordial praise goes to all who, regardless of circumstances and grudging no effort, continue to promote the party's ideological and political consolidation. Cordial praise goes to the large mass of the nameless champions of Marxism-Leninism and to all those individuals who continue their daily struggles in the frontline of party activities. Dear comrades, please accept my best wishes for effective political and professional work as well as for health and personal prosperity.

At Academy of Social Sciences

AU1210140188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Inaugurating the New Academic Year at the Academy of Social Sciences"]

[Excerpt] New courses of study and specialist research areas have been introduced in many of the colleges where the new academic year is just beginning; material conditions in some of the colleges have improved. However, one change affecting all colleges is the expansion of their self-government powers.

On 5 October the new academic year was inaugurated in a number of colleges. In Warsaw there was a ceremony to mark the beginning of classes for almost 3,000 students at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences. The inaugural ceremony was attended by Marian Orzechowski, who delivered a speech.

Marian Orzechowski said: "Congratulations on your academic and pedagogical achievements above all, on the academic awards and degrees. May they be a guarantee of new achievements, even more important and outstanding achievements, that will serve Poland and socialism.

"We are beginning the new academic year at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences—in what is, in line with the intentions of its founders, a workshop where personnel with the very highest skills are forged; in this workshop of Marxist theoretical thought that is in keeping with the needs of the times—in a special situation: A situation that is difficult and entails great responsibility.

"Poland, socialism, and the party have found themselves at a turning point. A new form of socialism is coming into being. In Poland, for many reasons that you know well, this process is taking place under particularly dramatic conditions.

"The birth of a new form of socialism is being accompanied by questions, doubts, and indecision among its spokesmen, advocates, and supporters. The essence of these questions can be encapsulated in several sentences: Why socialism? What is and what is not socialism? What kind of socialism? How should it be effectively developed and strengthened in its place in the economy, politics, and the material and spiritual life of the entire nation? These are not questions that are irrelevant in terms of ideology or politics. These matters are being debated and discussed within the party, but outside the party above all. A real ideological and political struggle is taking place, a struggle about the meaning of socialism, its future, and the future of Poland.

"The struggle for power—the question of who will win—has not been settled once and for all, and it is now entering its decisive stage. Antisocialist forces are not giving up. They are increasing their ideological and political pressure. They are seeking to obtain power, to obtain a position that will enable them to dismantle the socialist system and move Poland onto a different path of development.

"The PZPR, all party people, are now faced with a great test."

"While creating a new form of socialism in our country—and this is only part of significantly more extensive historical changes—waging a struggle against the opponents of socialism, and increasing accord with all prosocialist, left-wing, and progressive forces, the party itself must change. This is a difficult and painful process. It means a profound ideological, political, and organizational reorientation that extends to the roots, the foundations of what gave rise to and shaped the party. There is no other way, if Poland is to be socialist and the party is to perform the role of a genuine leading force on the road to socialism.

"The search for a new form of socialism, the struggle for power, and the nature of that power also determine the place and the role of the Academy of Social Sciences. The time has come for the Academy of Social Sciences to make an increased intellectual and theoretical effort and to wage an intensified ideological and political struggle.

"The party expects a greater intellectual effort from you, from you as a whole, as a community of professors and students, on behalf of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences and from every one of its members. You, above all, have to support the party in finding and formulating answers to the questions: Why socialism? What kind of socialism? Why the party? What kind of party? What path toward socialism? Why that path toward socialism in particular?

"The party expects you to make an active and tangible contribution to the political and ideological struggle that is taking place, to the defense of the principles and goals of socialism, to prevent them from being undermined, to prevent them from being abandoned too easily, and from being watered down. Those who who can speak convincingly, who—while defending socialism and striving to strengthen it in line with the needs of the times—know where the limits of compromise lie and can define and defend them, are people whose voices are heard too faintly in the columns of newspapers and magazines, and in radio and television programs. We hope that the voice of the Academy of Social Sciences , the voice of its staff and students, will be heard clearly and loudly in this struggle.

"I am deeply convinced—and I am saying this on behalf of the leadership of the party—that the Academy of Social Sciences will fully accomplish its tasks and will fully satisfy expectations. I sincerely wish you this, and the entire party sincerely wishes you this!" [passage omitted]

Deputy Secretary Whitehead's Visit Assessed

AU1910132688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Oct 88 p 2

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "For Longer Strides in U.S. Policy Toward Poland"]

[Text] Accidents are sometimes good for policy. An accident has been responsible for the fact that Deputy State Secretary John C. Whitehead, whose visit had been planned for an earlier date, paid his 2-day visit to Poland at a time when Premier M. Rakowski's government took over power, when the Polish Armed Forces' Day was celebrated, and when other events also took place. Our guest took advantage of those events to an extent that attracted our attention and make us express the hope that the U.S. Administration will be more militant in its activities toward our country.

First, this was already the third visit by that U.S. politician in the past 2 years—a visit that was marked by moving moments reaching out to the history of the last war when our two states were members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Second, our guest spent many hours in specific talks with our leaders. As he himself said, those talks will help develop mutual political, economic, and other relations.

To express his feelings, our U.S. guest went to Gdansk and Westerplatte where World War II began and where Poles showed their valor in defending freedom. Mr Whitehead placed a wreath under the Westerplatte monument and paid his respects to our people's valor. He then toured Gdansk and met with the city's fathers and inhabitants. In Warsaw Mr Whitehead had a 90-minute talk with W. Jaruzelski and met with M. Rakowski, J. Czyrek, T. Olechowski, and other Polish politicians.

The programmatic end to the visit consisted of signing a protocol on "intentions to help Poland in 1988" in trade matters and of supplying us with information about the administrations' decisions regarding the agreement on creating the offices charged with the task of promoting exchanges in science and culture. According to Whitehead, all this represents "additional measures to expand our relations."

However, it seems that the very talks with our politicians, especially with W. Jaruzelski, were the most important feature of the visit and embraced an extensive scope of international and bilateral issues. Following those talks, Whitehead stressed the significance of Poland's position and activities in the process of developing East-West relations and the atmosphere of cooperation in Europe. It was precisely in connection with such an evaluation that Whitehead's statement contained a sentence about "Poland's crucial significance for the Americans," about support for the "positive present trends," and about approval for "longer strides" in the development of U.S.-Polish relations, the need for which was mentioned by Premier Rakowski in his Sejm speech. All we have to do is to rely on Whitehead that the "opportunities for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation" will be realized in the "coming months and years," as he himself said.

Poland intends to create conditions under which—given the present good political atmosphere—extensive dialogue on international subjects of peace and cooperation in Europe will go hand in hand not with a waiting posture, but with a rapid development of mutually beneficial fiscal, industrial, technological, and trade cooperation. It is unfortunate that those areas still lag behind politics, although "they should not," as John Whitehead himself said.

More on Visit of Mongolian Leader Batmonh

Jaruzelski Toast at Warsaw Dinner

AU1410092888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Oct 88 p 2

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, at a dinner given in honor of Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic at the palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 7 October]

[Text] Esteemed and dear Comrade Batmonh!

Esteemed Mongolian comrades and friends!
Esteemed comrades!

I am pleased to be able to welcome our distinguished guest, Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and the people accompanying him to Poland's capital.

Although thousands of kilometers separate our countries, cordial ties link Poland to the second socialist state in history. I remember vividly the traditional hospitality that you extended to me during my visit to Mongolia 2 years ago. I highly appraise the talks that were held then and the decisions that were adopted.

Your present visit, Comrade Batmonh, affirms the common desire to comprehensively develop relations between our fraternal countries. Cooperation between our parties and states, which belong to the great socialist family and are based on ideological unity and a community of humanist goals, is acquiring a new dimension today.

Our parties, states, and peoples are implementing—while taking account of their specific, historically determined conditions—a course of creative political and economic reforms. We accord our full support to the bold, revolutionary strategy of Soviet restructuring that is being implemented by the CPSU under the leadership of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

Esteemed comrades, during the talks that we held with Comrade Batmonh today we positively appraised the development of Polish-Mongolian cooperation to date. We placed the main emphasis on raising the effectiveness of cooperation and enriching it by the addition of new bolder forms and mechanisms.

In particular, we have noted the need to expand cooperation ties and to create joint enterprises, including ones that are able to operate in markets in other countries. This applies to light industry, processing agricultural produce, rearing cattle, and searching for and exploiting raw materials. Your vast country, to which nature has been so generous, is a valuable and desirable partner.

We affirmed once again the need for close cooperation to give a qualitatively new and higher status to socialist integration within the CEMA framework. Comprehensive cooperation between the socialist states that respects the interests of all members is an important element for strengthening the potential of every one of our countries and is the shortest path leading to the acceleration of the economic development of our entire community.

The current talks have affirmed the unity between our parties with respect to the key problems in the contemporary world. We agreed that, despite the dangers to world peace that exist, positive trends are emerging in international life. Detente and disarmament dialogue between East and West is developing favorably.

This is, first and foremost, an achievement of the new political thinking and the inspiration provided by the peace strategy of the Soviet state and the states belonging to the socialist community.

The new thinking has already produced the first concrete results on the European continent. It is also making progress in Asia and the Pacific region. We jointly support the important initiatives formulated by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostock and the recent proposals that he made at Krasonyarsk on strengthening security throughout Asia.

The PPR expresses respect and support for the visible activity that the Mongolian People's Republic has recently undertaken toward strengthening confidence, good-neighborly relations, and extensive cooperation between all the countries in the region. Poland, which is situated in the most sensitive area in Europe, warmly welcomes your activities and initiatives aimed at preserving peace in Asia.

Esteemed Comrade Batmonh, dear guests, I am convinced that the current visit of friendship being paid by the leader of fraternal Mongolia will enrich the achievements of friendly cooperation and will serve well the interests of the entire community of socialist states and the cause of peace and progress.

Allow me to propose a toast in this spirit:

To the further development of friendship between our peoples,

To comprehensive cooperation between the PZPR and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and between the PPR and Mongolian People's Republic,

To your health, dear Comrade Batmonh,

To the health and prosperity of all our guests and friends seated at this table.

Batmonh Speech at Dinner

AU1410113288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Oct 88 p 2

[Speech by Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic and general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, at a dinner given in his honor in Warsaw on 7 October]

[Text] Dear Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski!

Dear Polish friends!

Allow me to thank you once again, Comrade Jaruzelski, for inviting me to pay an official visit of friendship to your beautiful country, and for enabling me to acquaint myself with the life and work of the Polish people and the achievements and experiences of socialist construction in the PPR.

We would also like to express deep gratitude to our Polish friends for the cordial reception and hospitality accorded us and for the sincere expressions of friendship.

Every meeting with our Polish friends is a great pleasure for us. We are now once again meeting at a time when the Mongolian and Polish peoples are solving complex and responsible tasks, which have been set out by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the PZPR, connected with socioeconomic restructuring. Today, we held friendly and fruitful talks in an atmosphere of frankness and complete mutual understanding. It pleases me greatly to be able to stress that our talks have once again confirmed the full convergence of the views and positions of the parties and governments of both our countries on questions pertaining to bilateral relations and key international issues.

The Mongolian people cherishes profound respect and affection for the fraternal Polish people. Friendship and cooperation between our peoples has beautiful traditions and a rich history.

It pleases me to be able to stress that comprehensive cooperation between our countries has been expanding and deepening every year in line with the provisions and spirit of the high ideals contained in the 1975 agreement on friendship and cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the PPR.

The visit that you paid to our country in 1986, dear Comrade Jaruzelski, performed an important role in developing and attaining an even higher level of Mongolian Polish cooperation. The long-term program for the development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the PPR and the Mongolian People's Republic until the year 2000, which was signed during your visit, provides a basis for the stable and progressive development of mutual relations between our countries in this important area.

We attach great importance to further improving the forms of cooperation between our countries and to raising their effectiveness. This is dictated, above all, by the needs of the national economies of the Mongolian People's Republic and the PPR.

We stress the comprehensive assistance that Poland has accorded us with a feeling of profound gratitude. Representatives of the Polish nation have participated directly in the creative work of the Mongolian nation and have made a worthy contribution to the accomplishment of tasks in the national economy of the Mongolian People's Republic. We deem this a true expression of internationalism and friendly support.

Currently, the Mongolian nation is concentrating its efforts on the realization of a renewal in all areas of life with a view to accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The sense and content of the process of renewal taking place in our country mainly consists in the introduction of economic management methods, the intensification of production, and raising production efficiency by way of applying the results of scientific and technical progress and improving the quality of work, output, and services. In our opinion, the main condition for the attainment of these goals is the further development of socialist democracy, openness, and the creative initiative of society.

It is obvious that the processes of renewal taking place in Mongolia and Poland have their specific features and differ in terms of their scale, scope, forms, and methods of implementation. However, these processes do have their common directions and goals, which contribute to the further development and enhancement of Mongolian-Polish relations.

The Mongolian people know well that the Polish people, who have a rich tradition of revolutionary struggle, have attained great successes in building a new life during the years of popular power. Today, on Polish soil, which was devastated and reduced to ashes during the years of World War II, huge industries, science and technology, and socialist culture are developing successfully. Socialism has become a reality in the fatherland of great Poles—Kopernik, Chopin, Mickiewicz and many other outstanding personalities, whose names have not only gone down in Polish history, but also in world history.

During the course of the process of renewal, the socialist countries are obtaining results that provide hope for further social progress. At the same time, they are encountering various problems and difficulties along this path. The experiences of the last few years confirm that People's Poland is overcoming the difficulties in the process of socialist renewal and is courageously following the road to a new life.

The policy of peace and development being pursued by the PPR and the policy of equal, mutually advantageous cooperation with all states is strengthening Poland's authority and international position.

We stress with satisfaction that a guarantee of the security and the development of the PPR is broad cooperation with countries belonging to the socialist community and a strong position within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

Dear comrades, thanks to the consistent efforts of the socialist countries and peace-loving forces positive changes have recently taken place in the international arena in the spirit of the new political thinking. The political atmosphere in Europe is constantly improving and the foundations of good-neighborly cooperation between states on this continent are becoming stronger. The fact that Europe has begun to free itself from deadly nuclear weapons is important and merits attention. This revives a climate of detente and creates the material foundations for a world without nuclear weapons and violence.

The proposals concerning a significant reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons that were made by the fraternal socialist countries in Warsaw opens up prospects for a European home in which there would be peace, confidence, and good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

We highly appraise the peace initiatives contained in Polish foreign policy. The package of Polish proposals and initiatives that is known as the "Jaruzelski Plan" and concerns reducing weapons and increasing confidence in central Europe represents a big contribution by People's Poland to the general process of improving the situation in Europe and the entire world.

An issue that the Mongolian People's Republic feels particularly strongly about is the preservation of peace and international security in Asia and the Pacific region.

The positive changes that are taking place in international relations, especially in the disarmament field, are also contributing to an improvement in the situation in this vast area. In Asia there is a growing desire for political dialogue, the expansion of broad cooperation, and uniting efforts to ensure lasting peace and security.

The conclusion of the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan, the constructive talks surrounding the problem of Cambodia in Bogor, the cessation of the fratricidal and senseless war between Iraq and Iran, and the other positive changes that are taking place in the political life of Asia are clear proof that every contemporary problem that is the subject of a dispute can be solved politically by way of dialogue.

A new impetus to the further expansion of the mechanism of dialogue and the strengthening of confidence and mutual understanding between states in this region has been given by the recent concrete proposals made by Comrade Gorbachev. These important initiatives deepen and give concrete form to the Vladivostock program, with which we are familiar, on a political settlement of problems in Asia and the Pacific.

The Mongolian People's Republic is a country situated in the heart of Asia and for this reason it considers itself to have a duty to strengthen security throughout Asia and to create lasting foundations for peace and cooperation between the states on that continent.

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski, dear Polish friends, allow me to wish you and every Polish family happiness and success from the bottom of my heart.

On behalf of the Mongolian people, I would like to convey wishes of further great successes in the implementation of the policy of socialist renewal in your fatherland to the workers class, all working people, and the entire society of fraternal Poland.

Long live fraternal friendship and internationalist cooperation between the Mongolian and Polish peoples!

Long live world peace!

Leaders Issue Joint Communique

OW1110143888 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Polish-Mongolian talks between the leaders of the two countries have demonstrated the complete unity of views in all discussed issues and made a tangible contribution to deepen the ties of friendship and cooperation of the two parties, peoples, and states. This is said in the joint communique issued at the end of the official friendly visit to Poland by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, president of Mongolia.

The communique stresses the importance of active realization of the 1983 Program on Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between Poland and Mongolia up to the year 2000, as well as the need for looking for new spirit, including joint enterprises for using the national wealth for processing agricultural products.

Polish Party and State leader Wojciech Jaruzelski and Jambyn Batmonh underlined the positive tendencies for developing dialogue for disarmament, peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, says the communique.

Leaders Activities Reviewed

AU1710153888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 88 p 6

[PAP headline: "Press Communique on Jambyn Batmonh Visit to Poland"]

[Text] At the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's

Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, paid an official visit of friendship to Poland from 7 through 10 October 1988.

The leaders of Poland and Mongolia held talks, which took place in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and complete understanding. Information was exchanged on the current policies of the PZPR and of the MPRP Party and on the situation in both countries, including the economic reform processes that are being implemented in Poland and Mongolia. Bilateral cooperation was extensively reviewed, and prospects for its expansion were discussed. Key issues in the current international situation were also discussed during the talks.

J. Batmonh also met Sejm Marshal R. Malinowksi. He visited Warsaw and Wroclaw.

During the talks, the development of bilateral relations between the two friendly states, peoples, and parties was highly appraised. It was stressed that a decisive role in consolidating mutual ties is played by the community of ideals and goals and by cooperation between the PZPR and the MPRP which are based on the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and internationalist solidarity and active participation in and the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries.

The 1975 Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation placed Polish-Mongolian relations on a high level. It was noted with satisfaction that the provisions of the treaty, as well as the decisions resulting from the meetings of the leaders of the two countries, including the Polish summit level visit paid to the Mongolian People's Republic in 1986, are being implemented and continually enhanced. Both sides stated that the further development of close contacts on both the party-state level and between social organizations and various communities serves the interests of both peoples well.

The talks confirmed the particularly important place of economic and scientific and technical cooperation in Polish-Mongolian relations. Against this background, it was stressed that there is a need to concentrate on implementing the Program for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the PPR and the Mongolian People's Republic until the year 2000 and on both sides' constant search for new areas for joint undertakings.

It was noted with satisfaction that progress has been made in this area in recent years, and it was pointed out that there were still opportunities for the further development of mutually advantageous cooperation, especially in mining and use of mineral resources, the processing of agricultural produce, and livestock rearing.

Poland and Mongolia expressed support for raising the effectiveness of CEMA activity and qualitatively deepening socialist integration. They stressed the importance of the comprehensive program for CEMA's scientific and technical development until the year 2000 for the ability of the member states to keep up with the rate of the technological challenges at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.

Both sides expressed a desire to step up cultural, academic, and mass media exchanges.

The talks held by the leaders of the PPR and Mongolian People's Republic fully affirmed the common positions of the parties and governments of both countries with respect to key contemporary problems.

W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh stressed the historic importance of the processes of renewal and restructuring taking place in the socialist countries, processes that open up development prospects for the socialist system.

Assessing the international situation, W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh said that despite the threats to world peace that still exist, positive trends are emerging, trends that are favorable to the development of detente and disarmament dialogue and the peaceful resolution of conflicts in various regions of the world. An important role in these processes is played by the peace strategy that is being consistently pursued by the community of socialist states and was clearly affirmed at the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Member State Political Consultative Committee that took place in Warsaw in July of this year. The driving force behind it comes from new thinking in the policies of the USSR and other socialist states and their unwavering desire to improve the international climate and to build a world that is free from weapons of mass destruction.

Preventing nuclear war, halting the arms race, and embarking on disarmament remain key issues at the present time. Poland and Mongolia warmly welcomed the conclusion of an agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, and they support efforts to reduce the arsenals of strategic weapons, introduce a complete and universal ban on the testing of nuclear weapons, eliminate chemical weapons, and reduce conventional weapons and forces in Europe.

The Mongolian People's Republic expresses respect and support for the active role played by the PPR in strengthening peace, security, and cooperation, including the Polish plan for reducing weapons and increasing confidence in central Europe. Both sides stressed that the inviolability of borders and observance of the existing territorial and political realities is a prerequisite for lasting peace and security in Europe.

W. Jaruzelski and Jambyn Batmonh stressed the importance of efforts to include the Continent of Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions in a general process of international detente and cooperation. Poland and Mongolia support Soviet initiatives concerning security throughout Asia and, in particular, the constructive

proposals put forward by M. Gorbachev at Krasnoyarsk on 16 September. The PPR highly appraises and supports the commitment of the Mongolian People's Republic to the cause of peace, security, and cooperation in Asia and, in particular, the proposal on renouncing the use of force in relations between Asian states.

Poland and Mongolia, faithful to ideological principles, are in favor of universal recognition of the principles of the peaceful resolution of international problems by way of dialogue, and respect for the rights of all peoples and states to a free and secure existence and development. They express solidarity with peoples who are fighting against the vestiges of colonialism and racism and against all forms of political and economic discrimination and are fighting for independence, social progress, and independent development.

W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh expressed their conviction that the current visit and the Polish-Mongolian talks at the highest level, which revealed that there was complete agreement on all the issues discussed, have made an important contribution to enhancing the friendship and cooperation that links both parties, states, and peoples, and to strengthening the cohesion among the states belonging to the socialist community in the interests of peace and progress in the world.

Ends Visit, Arrives in Berlin

OW1110152188 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] General Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and Mongolian President Jambyn Batmonh has completed his official visit to Poland at the invitation of Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski. On Monday he arrived in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, for an official visit of friendship at the invitation of GDR party and state leader Erich Honecker.

During his visit to Poland, the Mongolian leader Batmonh had official talks with Jaruzelski. The two leaders informed each other of the social construction in their respective countries, concluded the present and future of Mongolian-Polish cooperation [as heard], and exchanged views on vital international problems.

Batmonh and Jaruzelski emphasized that economic bodies should pay more attention to the fullest utilization of existing opportunities for developing economic, scientific, and technological ties between the two countries. They particularly singled out the great significance of the INF Treaty and the seven-point peace proposal of the USSR for the Asia-Pacific region.

The Mongolian leader was in total support for the Polish proposal on reducing armament in Central Europe and control [words indistinct]. The Polish leader, on his part, expressed complete support to the consistent peace policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian People's Republic. The talks were held in an atmosphere of complete comradely mutual understanding.

Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski hosted a reception in honor of Batmonh. The two leaders made reciprocal speeches there which dealt with bilateral relations and the two parties' and countries' positions on pressing presentday world problems.

The Mongolian leader, while in Poland, laid wreaths at the tomb of the unknown soldier and the memorial of Soviet servicemen. Batmonh also called on the marshal of the Polish Sejm, Roman Malinowski. During this meeting, the two men informed each other of the activities of the highest state legislatures of the two countries.

Batmonh, the Mongolian leader, visited the Imperial Palace Museum in Warsaw. On 8 October the Mongolian leader and officials accompanying him visited the Polish town Wroclaw.

A Mongolian-Polish intergovernmental agreement on joint geological and prospecting work on the territory of Mongolia was signed in Warsaw during of the official visit to that country by Mongolian leader Batmonh.

Expanding Ties Discussed With French Businessmen

Received by Zhivkov

AU1310175388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1714 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/10/1988—On Thursday, 13 October, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received the delegation of the French National Employers' Council, led by Raymond Ravenel, chairman of the France-Romania committee of the council, general manager of "Citroen Autmobile," who paid a visit to Romania.

During the interview aspects were approached of the cooperation between Romanian and French enterprises in various domains, in the context of the relations between the two countries as whole. The importance was stressed of further expanding economic, technical, scientific, industrial cooperation between Romania and France. Emphasis was also placed on relaunching cooperation ventures, initiating and carrying through Romanian-French cooperation projects on third markets. In that context the usefulness was underscored of setting up working groups that should discuss and agree upon objectives and modalities in the main domains of the Romanian-French cooperation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that Romania wished to develop trade and cooperation with France on mutually advantageous economic terms which should ensure maximum efficiency and a high technical level.

The Romanian head of state expressed his belief that the delegation's visit to Romania would contribute to identifying new ways and possibilities meant to ensure the further growth of the economic links between Romanian and French firms, between Romania and France in general.

The interview was attended by Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Present was France's ambassador to Bucharest, Jean-Marie Le Breton.

Talks Held With Andrei, Petrescu

AU1310175188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1651 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/10/1988—On Thursday, 13 October, Stefan Andrei and Barbu Petrescu, deputy prime ministers, received separately the delegation of the National Employers' Council of France headed by Raymond Ravenel, chairman of the France-Romania committee within the council, general manager of "Citroen Automobile" company, which paid a visit to Romania.

During the interviews, questions were approached related to the further development of the collaboration between Romanian and French enterprises on various planes, in the general context of the relations between Romania and France.

Dascalescu Meets Turkish Official Tenekeci

AU1510172288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1637 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 15/10/1988—On 15 October, the Romanian prime minister, Constantin Dascalescu, received Abdullah Tenekeci, minister of state, co-chairman in the Joint Governmental Commission of Economic Cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Turkey the proceedings of which took place in Bucharest.

On the occasion, emphasis was placed on the good relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Turkey, which are continuously developing, in keeping with the understandings and resolutions covenanted during the Romanian-Turkish summit dialogue.

Starting from the broad possibilities of the two countries' economies, the common wish was expressed to act for the further development of the economic and technical-scientific collaboration and cooperation, as well as in other domains of common interest, for the broadening and diversification of the mutual goods exchanges for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and worldwide.

The interview was attended by Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, co-chairman in the joint commission.

Canadian Trade and Tourism Commissioner Visits

AU1810183388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/10/1988—On 18 October, Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Horst Schmid, commissioner for trade and tourism of Canada's Alberta province, now in Romania on the occasion of the Bucharest International Fair.

On the occasion the sides approached questions related to enhancing and diversifying the commercial exchanges and economic cooperation between Romanian foreign trade organizations and Canadian companies of Alberta province, as part of the general Romanian-Canadian relations.

Economic Commission With Zimbabwe Begins

AU1810074388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 17/10/1988—The sixth session of the Joint Romanian-Zimbabwean Government Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation started in Bucharest on October 17.

The two delegations, headed by Radu Paunescu, minister of machine-building industry, for Romania, and Callistus Ndlovu, minister of industry and technology, for Zimbabwe, analyze the current stage of the bilateral economic relations, the translation into life of the decisions and understandings reached during the Romanian-Zimbabwean summit, new measures and actions to deepen the economic and technological cooperation between the two countries.

Housing Experts Debate Rural Reorganization

AU1810214488 [Editorial Report] As part of the Romanian media's recent focus on issues related to the country's "rural systematization" plans, Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 9 and 14 October carries on an inside page, under the headline "A Vast Process of Socioeconomic Development of Rural Settlements," two 2,000-word installments of a "debate" organized by journalists Al. Pintea and Ion Marin of the newspaper's editorial board with "experts" of the Bucharest Research and Design Institute for Systematization, Housing, and Communal Administration. The feature, which does not specify the date or place of this discussion, identifies the participants as "Engineer Adrian Alecsandrescu, director of the Institute, Dr Architect Alexandru Budisteanu, Architect Stefan Datcu, Architect Serban Nadejde, and Economist Sandu Constantin."

The first installment, carried by SCINTEIA of 9 October on page 4, concentrates on the "objective requirement" for rural systematization in the "current stage of the country's overall development." According to Engineer Adrian Alecsandrescu, the current territorial reorganization program aims at "eliminating essential differences between villages and towns and creating a favorable framework for the assertion of the human personality." However, the interviewee adds that such a "complex program cannot be left unchecked; it must be consciously guided, in keeping with the overall interests of social development." Such a process, Architect A. Budisteanu says, requires a "harmonious development" of the network of inhabited places, in order to bring industry to the villages and prevent the flight of young people to towns. He adds that "our intervention does not aim at destroying the village, as claimed by some ignorant or malicious people abroad, but rather at ensuring the necessary conditions for its natural evolution along the road of progress and civilization." Hence, he concludes that "we should further build new agroindustrial centers as well as strong and viable communes," after "a rigorous and responsible analysis based on scientific criteria."

This vast construction program, Architect Serban Nadejde says, will "take into consideration existing local traditions" and will strive to "preserve and enhance the specific architectural style" of each geographical area. "But," the interviewee asks, "can one guard the traditional cultural values of the village by preserving old, run-down houses or dusty narrow streets as some people demand?" He concludes that such values can only be preserved and developed in "new schools, equipped with modern laboratories and reading halls, where children can study in the Romanian language and in their respective mother tongues."

The second installment of this feature, carried by SCINTEIA of 14 October on page 2, deals exclusively with the "future aspect and concrete prospects" of the new agro-industrial centers and towns that will result from the implementation of the "program of systematization and modernization of localities." Thus, Architect Stefan Datcu says that the modernization of rural inhabited areas implies "bringing industry and all modern conveniences to villages; the aim is to create "living and working conditions similar to those in towns," this being a "concrete expression of the implementation of the principle of socialist ethics and equity, the basic principle of our socialist society." According to Engineer Adrian Alecsandrescu, "a revealing picture of the aspect of the future agro-industrial centers" is provided by the successful organization and modernization underway in several communes in the Ilfov agricultural sector, where "new housing, industrial units, and sociocultural facilities" are being built. Referring to "slanders spread abroad by certain malevolent newspapers and radio and television stations" about the "so-called destruction of villages" in Romania, Architect Stefan Datcu wants to remind them that all demolished houses in Ilfov agricultural sector were "old and doomed" and "hardly offered any kind of comfort to their inhabitants."

In conclusion, the participants in the debate refer at length to their institute's tasks in working out detailed studies for the construction of new agro-industrial centers, which will eliminate "key differences" between towns and villages, thus creating "the necessary prerequisites, as the party secretary general said, for building a homogeneous society of the working people, of the united working nation, guided by the same strivings and interests."

1st Day of 17th LCY Central Committee Session

LD1910111088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 17 Oct 88

["Session of the LCY Central Committee: First Day Proceedings—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee opened in Belgrade's Sava Center this morning. The first item on the agenda covers the LCY's immediate tasks and activities in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation.

At the start of the session, the Central Committee adopted a proposal made by the LCY CC Presidium for the session to be opened but not broadcast live on either radio or television as requested by some individuals, certain party and professional bodies, and party organizations. Journalists are following the session via a number of television monitdors placed in various parts of the Sava Center. The proposed agenda was adopted without any objection as was a proposal by the working group to monitdor the debate and incorporate the proposals and suggestions into a draft document of the session.

The top body will consider a proposal of the decision to form an LCY Central Committees commission for the transformation of the LCY and the Presidium's proposal for implementing the standpoints of the First LCY Conference on cadre renewal in the Central Committee and the Presidium itself. The agenda also includes a report by the LCY Central Committee's working group, which had the task of establishing facts and possibly recommending responsibility measures over the public confrontations among individual members of the LCY CC in connection with the arrival and protests by a group of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July this year.

Before calling on Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, to take the floor, Stefan Korosec, the presiding official, said that the Presidium had accepted the basic structure of the introductory report and its key standpoints permitting the rapporteur the usual amount of freedom.

In Yugoslavia today, two processes with completely opposite objectives are at work, Veljko Kadijevic said, specifying that the aim of the first was to find a solution to the crisis through reforms, while the second was directed at destroying Yugoslavia. The destruction, as he put it, is being approached from various ideological and political positions, ranging from nationalism and separatism and attempts at bourgeois restoration, to ideas about cultural revolution. All this is potentially very dangerous.

While the LC and the institutions of the system have been slow to embark on the reforms and confront various blockades, the forces of destruction are operating in a vigorous and even aggressive manner. They have infiltrated the LC and the institutions of the system through the vacuum created by our differences and quarrels. This is why our country is facing a very real threat, Kadijevic stressed. We must accelerate the pace of reform and hamper the forces of destruction by primariiy political and any other legal measures.

The current international military-political atmosphere, Kadijevic said, is affecting Yugoslavia in many ways, but it must be said that our security depends primarily on us and the situation in the country. Our security also depends to a large extent, on the concept of all-people's defense and its function as a deterrent. We are informed that recent events in Yugoslavia are being followed very closely, Kadijevic stressed.

Having stressed that the history of the development of the concept of all-people's defense should never be forgotten, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, said that the concept had proven itself during the national liberation war. The foundations of this concept, which, by the way, demonstrate the wickedness of those who slander Tito's name and work, will not be altered unless the main factors that brought it to life are attacked.

Kadijevic underlined two opposing theses about the role of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as an institution and the role of its commanding cadre. According to the first thesis the YPA has a special role to play in the efforts to resolve the crisis and should seize power through a putsch. According to the second thesis, the commanding cadre should be excluded from political life and be restricted to the barracks. Both of these theses are incorrect and malicious. Only the SFRY Presidency, Kadijevic stressed, conveying views of Communists in the YPA, has the right to make a decision on whether to use the Armed Forces. The attempts to involve other institutions of the system into the commanding system must therefore be clearly exposed and rejected. The idea of the need to restrict the commanding cadre to the barracks is not new, but it is very aggressive. Just like the first thesis, it advocates a change in the place and role of the YPA as defined by the Constitution.

The Army has a national, revolutionary, and Yugoslav character and it must maintain these features if it is to carry out its tasks in line with Tito's course.

In reference to attacks on the YPA, Kadijevic said: Communists in the Army are of the view that destructive attacks should be differentiated from constructive criticism. Destructive attacks result from a negative view of Yugoslavia as a federal community and are aimed at destroying the country. These attacks are becoming increasingly vehement as the day when the constitutional changes are to be adopted draws nearer.

There is growing evidence of attempts to bring pressure to bear on the Army cadres to commit themselves in line with republican, provincial, and other narrow interests, even when these interests do not represent Yugoslavia or have not been jointly verified. This is threatening the Yugoslav character of the YPA.

Kadijevic said that the LC in the YPA was of the view that in the the LCY leadership, there existed great differences about the causes of the present crisis and, by implication, about the ways of overcoming it. Political struggles to gain legitimacy for individual stands are being waged in such a way that it looks as if many are competing who will further undermine Yugoslavia. In this way, an atmosphere is being created conducive to the activities of both internal and external enemies.

We must all say what kind of Yugoslavia we want, what kind of a country it could be, and how to achieve unity, Kadijevic said. Unity is not an abstract idea, but is a concrete substance that cannot be attained by appeals to people's conscience. In any case, unity does not imply universal uniformity. Due to Yugoslavia's particular situation, the method of attaining unity is very important. All undemocratic and especially destructive methods should be hampered and the principle causes of the crisis eliminated if we are not to find ourselves in even more serious difficulties.

The time has run out for making some decisions, Kadijevic said, adding that nothing is worse than a situation in which no decisions are made, since it may lead to destruction. The essence of Yugoslavia's unity is this system based on the principles of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia. The equality of the nations and nationalities is an imperative of Yugoslavia's existence in which no one, regardless of the numbers or economic strength, can be in a privileged position. Yugoslavia can exist only as a genuine federation or not at all. The federal system is in no way an alternative to either a unitarist or confederative system.

With regard to economic reform, Communists in the YPA are of the view that we must strive to achieve a modern, market-oriented economy without too much fear of the possibility of restoring capitalism, since capitalism itself has already accepted some Marxist doctrines that suit it. An adequate but realistic social program must be adopted and a common economic area established as an imperative of Yugoslavia's existence as a federal community, since fragmentation can lead to disaster.

Kadijevic stressed that the defeat of counterrevolution in Kosovo was a condition for Yugoslavia's survival. No debates or conduct designed to hamper efforts to defeat it are unacceptable, he warned.

He advocated a reform of the LCY which he said must be carried out thoroughly and speedily but without affecting its quality. And finally, the LCY must increase the efficiency and reduce the size of its executive organ, the Presidium.

For quite some time now, there has been no unity on some issues without whose solution stability and the development of Yugoslavia are not possible, said Marko Orlandic, adding that these differences are especially sensitive with regard to the Kosovo drama, the nature of relations within the Federation, constitutional relations in Serbia, the current economic policy, and the reform of the LC. Differences on these strategic issues inevitably fuel suspicion, mistrust, and doubts and this impacted on the work of the Presidium and of this Central Committee—it made it impossible for them, as political centers, to act in a stabilizing way on the state and relations in the country and to ensure a Yugoslav synthesis on the most important issues.

The clashes between the leaderships and senior officials seriously exacerbate the overall atmosphere in our society and encourage polarization, Orlandic went on to say. This opens up a broad scope for for destructive forces, primarily nationalistic and revenge-seeking forces. Taking advantage of the difficult situation in the country, these forces, abusing the justified indignation of our working people and citizens, are attacking brotherhood and unity, equality, the federal system, and socialist self-management. These forces are trying to channel dissatisfaction against the system and its legal institutions. If we were to allow this to happen, no one would be spared the serious consequences. We should all bear this in mind. [passage omitted]

Orlandic said that it is extremely unfortunate that even on the eve of this session, differences have emerged in areas where they should not and must not exist, and he specifically singled out those that have emerged in connection with the situation in Kosovo. Resistance to such differences is being publicly manifested. This Central Committee must work to foil any further delays about the Kosovo drama and frustrate every form of opportunism and hestitation and must accept all the measures proposed to resolve it. Differentiation must be carried out to the fullest, consistently and objectively, in accordance with the principle: Whoever underrates the current situation and fails to act unselfishly and responsibly in implementing the conclusions of the ninth session must be called to book and must leave the job he is doing. At the same time, thought must be given to winning the people over for our policy. It is a good thing that at this session, probably as early as tomorrow, in keeping with Statute practice we shall set up a working group of the initiative of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, to establish responsibility for three members of the Central Committee, and as early as the 19th session, we shall submit our proposals so that the atmosphere in Kosovo is no longer weighed down by this.

[transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 8 not received] [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 13 not received] [passage omitted]

Putting forward the stances of the Macedonian LC Central Comittee, Jakov Lazaroski made the assessment that the events which have been shaking the country in recent days are leading to unforeseeable consequences for the integrity, federal character, socialist self-managing development, and leading role of the LCY. Dramatic warnings are given by the Kosovo drama, the growth of nationalism, confrontations within and among the leaderships, and the danger of this turning into confrontations among the nations and nationalities. But, nevertheless, we continue to ignore the voice of reason, as if we cannot see that we are only a step away from the abyss.

At this moment, Lazaroski said, it is important to provide scope for developing an awareness of the fact that we must put an end to unprincipled differences within the LCY and, above all, among the leaderships because all this serves to block the implementation of the LC's policy and to destroy its unity. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 17 not received]

Having spoken in detail about the difficult economic situation in Kosovo, Adem Krasnici went on to stress that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins was the most serious effect of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. Have we correctly assessed all the causes of emigration and opposed a one-sided view of this problem, he asked.

According to Krasnici, in the period after the 16th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee, the LC's action in Kosovo was being hampered by new but unfamiliar tendencies. This refers, as he specified, to the rejection of the stands of the top party leadership, the absense of democratic centralism, and the increasing number of attacks on Tito. Despite warnings by the party leadership, the number of meetings has increased while the Kosovo Polje-based committee for organizing them has imposed itself upon us as a parallel authority and continues to promote its own political program for resolving the Kosovo problem.

Unacceptable extremist slogans have also appeared, Krasnici said, and he illustrated this fact with a number of examples. It would be good, he said, to hear what the leaderships of Serbia, Montenegro, and also the LCY Central Committee think about them. How can Albanians take part in these meetings, Krasnici asked, when extremist slogans are allowed to appear? It is naive to think that the Committee from Kosov Polje worked without a close link with the Serbian leadership.

To call to account people who fought Albanian nationalism leads, according to Krasnici, to a blockade of political life in the province. Yugoslavia is a state which adheres to the rule of law, he noted, and the tolerance of "street activities" can lead to anarchy. Shutting our eyes to the fact, he said, can lead to unforseeable consequences. Krasici concluded his speech by calling on the LCY Central Committee to increase its determination to eliminate all these phenomena.

Nikola Jovanovic replied immediately by dissociating himself from [passage indistinct]. It is not true, he said, that the Albanians are not attending these meetings because of the slogans. The true reason lies in the irresponsible attitude of the Kosovo LC and its Presidium and their failure to make more resolute efforts to tackle the problem of Kosovo.

The events that have been shaking our country in recent months are not unexpected, stressed Branko Mamula.

One of the most serious warnings followed the 13th LCY session, radical changes were requested and it was pointed out that without them, it would be impossible to overcome the crisis. The 13th congress came and went and there were no changes. The deep-seated crisis was met with weakness and a lack of resolve by the LC and all social structures. Time was lost; dissatisfaction and mistrust accrued. Disquiet entered all the relations and environments. [passage omitted]

Bosko Kovacevic stressed that the LC is facing difficult challenges to which it must provide historically suitable answers. It must do so together with the membership and with the working class, using not only the leadership and the partial, national programs.

The key appeal of the 17th session must be an appeal to work, and to stop the squabbles about the redistribution of poverty. We no longer have the time to dig into the past, and, in a rather banal way, emphasize this or that historic right. Having spoken in favor of the soonest possible implementation of the three reforms, Kovacevic said that they must become the property of the working people so that they will not carry negative connotations. [passage omitted]

Concerning the situation in Vojvodina, Kovacevic said that the leaderships in the province had fallen and were falling because of the numerous policy mistakes and because of their lack of understanding of the new developments and of the demands the citizens made on solutions to the crisis. Now there follows the process of sorting out the mistakes and the delusions and self-satisfaction. Vojvodina is more than just food-producing land and a place for harmonius intranational relations. The Vojvodina leadership fell because of their lowered view of the province's position.

The place of Vojvodina is in the Socialist Republic, Serbian said Kovacevic. In this context Kovacevic stressed that the talks on autonomy are necessary, but not autonomy as a basis of statehood. Concluding his

discussion statement he expressed his conviction that LC members in Vojvodina have strength and wisdom to keep the incipient processes of changes within the framework of organized activity.

Opening his discussion Franc Setinc stressed that his resignation from the LCY Central Committee Presidium has more to do with the immediate tasks and solutions to the crisis than with the third item, within the framework of which the recovery of Kosovo will be discussed. He recalled its content, and the fact that it was submitted at a time when his name had not yet appeared on banners. I was warning against the madness that has gripped our country and I was appealing to reason. I was not thinking of the aspect of popular rallies as an expression of the people's dissatisfaction with the Kosovo situation in the economy, society, the LC and its leadership. What are insane are the manipulations of the dissatisfaction, when the call to arms was heard, as are rumors about a strong state without republics and provinces.

Advocating profound sensible discussion without passions, Setinc said that at meetings only the people's mood can be registered, and that we must soberly evaluate the arguments for changes in society.

Setinc noted the insane and critical situation in Kosovo. In this context he asked whether the meetings, which are indeed useful, are as a whole the right way of halting emigration, improving intranational relations, creating a joint front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and all other nationalities who live in Kosovo. What needs to be done to mobilize the majority of Albanians, whom the nationalists and separatists are pushing into isolation. What should be done to turn the Serbs and Montenegrins against the various emissaries, Serbian nationalists, who make empty promises and in fact only harm them?

In finding an answer we should not proceed from the assumption that one side is always clean, and the other dirty, Setinc said.

I agree that responsibility must be heightened, and that has been the weakest aspect of the system, but this must be done through argument. There would not be lines for brown bread if we had more energetically embarked on reform 10 years ago. Raising the question of why we are sliding backwards, Setinc expressed the view that we should not look for the culprit in the system alone; nor should we look for a way out only in the form of extraordinary elections, congresses, and rallies, because these are no substitute for good work, good cadres, and programs.

Setinc then noted that the transformation of the party, which was begun with its transformation into the LC, has still not been achieved.

Going on to speak about the information media, he asked what name should be given to, as he put it, that insane section which publishes Wanted posters. Just one of them is put out, and the very next day the whole nation is accusing you.

I will not respond to slander any more, because I fear that I may stoop to the level of my slanderers. Furthermore, in comparison with the misfortune that has descended on our country, this is not such a problem, Setinc said.

Replying to certain accusations in public newspapers, he emphasized that he has no weekend house or villa and that no one has ever corrupted him.

Calling for the three reforms and for a democratic way out of the crisis, Setinc noted that Tito is no more, but that Tito's wisdom must remain in us. We should not search for another Tito, because such personalities are not to be found on the surface of events, but only in the depths of historical events, Franc Setinc stressed. [passage omitted]

After saying that the political and economic crisis is getting worse and worse and that the dissatisfaction of workers and citizens is growing daily—plus the fact violence by Albanian separatists and nationalists had been going on for over 8 years and the economic crisis for 25 years, FEC President Branko Mikulic said that as far back as the 11th LCY Congress which was held 11 years ago, it was pointed out that there is a need for an analysis of the functioning of the political system. And yet we have still not decided about the necessary amendments to the SFRY and Serbian Constitutions. We are facing moves to redefine the national question; the primacy of nationalist feelings over class is becoming increasingly evident, and to some people national states are becoming the supreme ideal.

These people have begun to interpret the Yugoslav area as being a geographical area and not as a real federal state community of all the nations and nationalities of the SFRY. Nationalism is increasingly penetrating into all the facets of our society; the unity of the LCY, people say, has become a word to think about, while federalization of the LCY and national communism, they say, is our reality. Many people say that they favor the three reforms but in our daily life there is precious little involvement along that line.

Having assessed that our concept of so-called national economies and the concomitant isolation in politics, ideology, culture, and literature have led us into divisions, irrationality and development mistakes, and poverty, and not into a situation where the working class and all the workers can decide on in the centers of etatist and political power, whereas the price for the mistakes is paid by the working class and the people. In this way the losses which have been incurred are socialized [paid for the Yugoslav society as a whole] and not infrequently at

the federal level. In this way the "sins of others are transferred to the federation and then federation organs are critized because the sins were committed."

At the same time, Mikulic added, the impression is created that everything such as policy, conclusion, and measures adopted in the federation organs is defective and that it is virtually imposed.

Having assessed that for years we have been engaged in futile discussions about the counterrevolution in Kosovo, which we failed to defeat, Mikulic said that if we have learned anything from the past 8 years it is that we must resist this evil by taking a far more united and efficient political action, along with measures undertaken by state organs. Nor must we underrate the Serb, Croat, Slovene, Muslim, Montenegrin, Macedonian, and other forms of nationalism which have also appeared on the scene and are manifesting themselves with increasing aggression.

We have not seen in the past 43 years the flood of right-wing and bourgeois views and even the views forming which are trying to refute Tito and his achievements, our entire contemporary development, the achivements of brotherhood and unity, our freedom and independence, Yugoslavia's independent foreign policy, the role of the Yugoslav People's Army in defending the SFFY's independence and territorial integrity, of the kind we are experiencing now.

What is even more surprising is the fact that so much bourgeois, anti-communist, and anti-Yugoslav sentiment has put down roots in the legal institutions of our system, in a section of the press, in cultural institutions, in associations, and elsewhere. We are dutybound to ask ourselves whether what we are doing—each of us individually and all of us together—in the struggle against these dregs which is leading to hatred, squabbles, and primitivism, is adequate.

Asked how to overcome the economic, social, and political crisis, Mikulic said that the answer could be provided by the "collective" professional and political "think tank" [pamet]. I am convinced, added Mikulic, that a uniform Yugoslav view concerning the solution of problems we face must be the basic point of departure in the quest for a way our of the current complex Yugoslav situation. This view, this Yugoslav "measure of things," of course implies the basic principles of our revolution and of self-management and development; the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] substance of Yugoslavia; its socialist self-management and federal character; the power of the working class; national equality, brotherhood, and nonaligned policy. Without this "measure of things" we stand no chance for extricating ourselves from the crisis, said FEC president in conclusion.

If we agree on this we should all become involved in strengthening the SFRY as the homeland of us all, as the only realistic framework within which the workers and citizens, the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, enjoy guarantees for their social, national, and other freedoms and interests. This presupposes that, among other things, the function of the federation is defined so that it can function as a real state in the areas of national defense, foreign policy, protection of the constitutional system, and in securing the unity of those functions of the economic system and economic policy which are the condition for the undisturbed functioning of the single Yugoslav market.

Having assessed that we had not just invented the reforms and that we had been impelled to take them by reality, Mikulic said that our destinies and future depend on whether we will carry out these reforms resolutely and consistently. Any possible delay of the reform would result in our country trailing behind on a long-term basis and in its plunging into a deeper and deeper economic, social, and political crisis.

The current shortcomings in the functioning of the Yugoslav economy have, according to Mikulic, a long history. Fundamentally speaking they have been caused by the nonmarket economic system which has generated an inappropriate structure of our economy. Therefore, our crisis knot can be untangled only with a radical reform of our economic system and a new development policy fitting that system.

Having recalled that after many years of inactivity, resistance to and nonimplementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization and noting we are in the middle of a process of preparation and implementation of reform, Mikulic remarked that many conclusions and proposals had already been tabled before the Assembly and others will follow. Amendments to planning documents will be submitted as well.

The May program, Said Mikulic, was put foward and adopted on the basis of the realistic assessment that we cannot simply leap into an economic reform out of a very serious economic situation, the kind of situation we had before the 14 November 1987 Program and/or before the situation prevailing on 15 May this year. The 15 May Program and the concept of economic reform are reciprocally linked and interdependent. To a certain extent, this period of economic policy is a preparatory period for the implementation of economic reform starting at the beginning of next year.

Asking whether everyone really has an identical view on the concept of the 15 May economic policy measures and on the concept of our economic reform, Mikulic said that there are many people who, simultaneously with their verbal support for economic policy, are in fact challenging every single one of its parts. This is done in such a way that where obvious results cannot be denied their significance is minimized as much as possible, and then

one after the other an economic policy measure is taken out of context and challenged, often with erroneous arguments and inaccurate information. Mikulic recalled that the 15 May Economic Policy Program was conceived in such a way that it will be a 1-year program at least and it is therefore not reasonable to assess it by reference to results during the first few months. After the expiry of this program we should expect good conditions for the gradual implementation or rather for the gradual impact of new mechanisms of economic reform.

As far as inflation is concerned, Mikulic stressed that in our country it is the result of a conflict of interest in the distribution and redistribution of scarce national income via the market, through the economic policy measures, and also the result of the measures taken by the republics, provinces, 540 municipalities, and over 6,000 self-management interest communities. We must openly identify who contributes to price increases and how that is done and then establish everyone's responsibility and tasks in curbing inflation. Those who freely form over 63 percent of their prices and also those who fix their prices beyond every measure under the so-called joint elements should be the first ones to clean up their own backyard.

It is irresponsible in current circumstances to create surplus revenue, not to reduce taxes and contribution rates, not to return the surpluses, rather than diverting them into a bottomless pit such as local and republican "white elephant" loss makers over a period of many years. Until recently the republics and the provinces did not react to the demands to ease the taxation and contribution burden on personal income. Remaining silent on that to all intents and purposes, they left the workers incorrectly believing that that depended on the federation, yet it is common knowledge that in the gross personal income of the workers there is not a single dinar which goes directly into the federal budget. The more the economy, the banks, and sociopolitical communities shift the blame for inflation onto the federation, the less chance inflation will be curbed, Mikulic said in conclusion.

In conclusion, Mikulic warned that the implementation of reform could be slowed down by some factors, especially by whether the constitutional amendments are passed in time and also whether the constitutional amendments provide enough scope for developing the concept of reform and for implementing it.

In a brief reply to Mikulic's assessments about the impact of the main measures, Marko Orlandic said that according to the analyses by scholarly institutions their results were extremely unfavorable. I fear serious socio-economic consequences and it is in that that I see a real danger for the reform, stressed Orlandic. Although the measures are valid for 1 year, within the space of 6 months they overshot the planned limits in all segments laid down by the 15 May Program. This does not mean that the measures are wrong and that we question them, but it is a matter off necessity to identify what is lacking to preserve the policy of reform. [passage omitted]

Saying that he is on the LCY Central Committee platform for the first time, Radoslav Bulajic found it necessary to "introduce" himself. He said that he has been working for almost 30 years in ferrous metallurgy. In his view he is a Yugoslav of "Montenegrin—or looking back further in the past Serbian—origin" and that all members of his immediate family are Yugoslavs. [passage omitted]

After he pointed out the economic difficulties encountered by workers, Bulajic characterized this session as probably the last chance for regaining confidence in the top LCY leadership. Let us make the maximum effort today here so that we forget and overcome mutual friction, one-sided interests, the spreading of fear, revanchism, and other misunderstandings. Let us prove that we have the will and the strength to return Yugoslavia to the road of progress without further sacrifices, Radoslav Bulajic advocated.

We are facing a crucial question: whether we will implement economic and political reform, as well as reform the LC, which is at this juncture our only way out of the crisis, Abdulah Mutapcic said. He said that the country's unity is endangered because of negative tendencies resulting from our weaknesses, and also because all those destructive and underground trends attached to them, which have not left us in peace ever since the war. [passage omitted]

We resolutely condemn the increasingly open assaults on equality, brotherhood, and unity of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, and we reject attempts to destroy the democratically and legally elected leaders by means of pressure and manipulation of the people's justified discontent, Mutapcic continued. This session has to mean a definite turning point in activity by the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium; it must ensure a united course of action by the LC. All problems cannot be put on the same level and unity is now the most important issue in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

We are expected at this session to show common sense, wisdom, competence, and a will to put our organization back on the road of revolutionary action as spelled out at the LCY conference, Radovan Radonjic said. We are expected to consolidate the LCY Central Committee's unity and authority and to find enough strength to move from the state of mutual misunderstandings and quarrels toward a united approach to efforts to implement the three reforms.

Radonjic stressed that it is necessary to establish responsibility for "what happened and is happening" and also to assume responsibility for "what will happen." It is also necessary to step up the struggle against attempts to distintegrate Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

In Radonjic's view, at their next sessions the SFRY Assembly, the republican and provincial assemblies, as well as all sociopolitical organizations should consider their own responsibility for the present social situation and to take a vote of confidence in their executive and executive-political organs. [passage omitted]

Radonjic believes the LCY Central Committee should ask the LCY Central Committee Presidium to hold within 15 days a meeting with the top people of the LC committees in the republics and provinces to consider the issue of lack of unity among leading officials and to inform the members of the top party body about this at the 19th session of the LCY Central Committee. In Radonjic's view, the LC committees in the republics and provinces and the LCY Committee in the YPA should be called on within a month to assess their own responsibilities. They should pass a decision replacing one-third of their members and raise the issue of confidence in their executive-political organs, as well as the responsibility of Communists on publishing councils and editorial boards in those sections of the media which, through their unprincipled attitude contributed to the present atmosphere in society.

The LCY Central Committee, according to Radonjic's proposal, should order all its members who have been criticized on various grounds to make a public reply or bear the consequences. By the end of the year, he said, the assemblies of socio-political communities should examine the possibility of shortening mandates to 3 years and of implementing direct secret elections. All those whose second mandate is expiring would then return to their professions and to their collectives.

In conclusion, Radonjic proposed that the LCY Central Committee require the Communists in the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and the FEC to take all constitutional measures in offering assistance to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the SR of Serbia in guaranteeing complete and lawful security for everyone in Kosovo.

Communists in the YPA are convinced that we cannot go on like this, Petar Simic said from the platform of the 17th LCY session, and he added that members of our Army think that divisions must be ended and that unity is possible and necessary. These divisions must give way to unity and an all-Yugoslav orientation by the LCY.

According to Simic, today it is not so important how the task is formulated, but it is of the utmost importance that maximum action and ideological unity be achieved in carrying out these tasks. Practice has shown that sometimes even that is not sufficient, and that it is necessary to ensure as well the process of full and concrete responsibility for those who do not fulfill these tasks.

According to Simic, if the LC does not change current practice, which has pushed it to the margins of social processes, it will inevitably face the masses' discontent, which has been expressed lately at public gatherings of citizens and at protest meetings.

Noting that everything happening now in society cannot but have certain influence on members of the YPA, Simic also stressed that unanimous assessments cannot be formulated about those public gatherings, of which there are different kinds. They cannot be described in black and white. In any case, he said, these meetings are our reality and they, as citizens', rights cannot be questioned, provided of course, that they do not lead to destruction. At the basis of these gatherings lies dissatisfaction of our working people and citizens, the accumulation of which has been influenced by the fact that institutions of the system have not reacted to problems on time and in the proper way. A task of organized subjective forces is to channel that energy in a constructive direction.

On the attacks on the YPA, which have recently been noticeable in society, Simic said that this certainly has a negative effect on the awareness of YPA members because, inter alia, these attacks also mean an attack on personal and institutional dignity of YPA members. This burdens them and takes away their motivation, especially when such attacks come from social institutions and individuals in responsible positions, he emphasized.

When speaking of solutions to the crisis, to which the Army gives hearty support and considers it to be its task, Simic also stressed that it is now very important to clarify as soon as possible all open questions concerning the country's present and future situation as well as the LC's position in the country in general. "That is a significant precondition, for the effective activity of the LCY," he stressed.

The essential condition for change is the affirmation of the LC's unity and the principal of democratic centralism, stressed Azem Vlasi.

Speaking about the need for the united action of Communists, he warned that it can nevertheless not be achieved by force, or imposed, from positions of one's own national and regional interests. Without sufficient sensitivity to the interests of others, there can be no unity and stability.

It is clear to us in Kosovo that we are facing the most serious test in the history of the new Yugoslavia of stamping out the causes and activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. This struggle, unfortunately, has been going on for a long time. We have not succeeded in ending this struggle, although the importance of what has been done should not be underrated.

Following the 16th LCY Central Committee session, there was again a worsening of the situation. We have endeavored to look very critically at where the weaknesses of organs, and, particularly the leadership, lie and why despite the efforts there are not adequate results. Serious problems arose because instead of mobilization, attacks were started and challenges to the 16th session, polarization for and against the session, and because there were expectations that the 17th session would correct what happened at the 16th. In Kosovo, and throughout the country, all this created great political confusion, opened up debate on who are the real fighters for overcoming the situation in Kosovo and who are the obstructionists. Thus, instead of strengthening unity in action, we divided the public in the verbal domain.

In all institutions of the system we will have to increase responsibility and differentiation, Vlasi went on to say. This was clearly noted in the debate at the last session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. We will not stop at the question of assigning specific responsibility for failure to implement tasks, and we therefore assess that assertions that we have lagged behind in this are unfounded. Equally unacceptable is the tendency of labelling and campaigns, and the involvement of a powerful propaganda mechanism, as is the belief among a section of the public that the only way out of the situation is for the whole leadership, or those named at meetings or in the press, to step down. Almost all of these are subjected to pressures, apart from individuals who take great care not to be reproached.

Vlasi then said that the focus of action must be placed on the involvement of citizens, above all Albanians, for the protection and peaceful life of all and for the stabilization of security conditions, and particularly for the protection of Serbs and Montenegrins who are most frequently the target of attacks by Albanian nationalists. We will also have to strengthen the work of the organs of government, because there can be no confidence or secure life for people if they do not feel that they live in an organized and legal state.

Politically we must act to create first and foremost among Serbs and Montenegrins an attitude of greater confidence which has evaded us so far. This also presupposes greater involvement in resolving tangible problems, because no one derives much benefit from verbal commiseration with people's troubles.

We insist on the greater involvement of the whole of Yugoslavia in overcoming the crisis in Kosovo. This, however, can only be achieved by a united and stable Yugoslavia. As it is now, divided by crisis, with the leaderships of there publics and provinces set against each other, with disunity in the leadership of the country, this aim will be difficult to achieve. Naturally, it must be all the more so in Kosovo, because the continuation of the crisis in this province will continue to threaten the future of Yugoslavia.

It is clear to us that it is essential that, apart from us and together with us, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, more than the others, must involve itself in solving the problems in Kosovo, for the simple reason that Kosovo is a province within it and that this is very important for the position of the Serbs there. This involvement will yield the best results if it is realized in the manner of and in accordance with our constitutional and other relations and with the stances of the highest forums of the LCY, Serbians LC, and Kosovo LC.

In the critical consideration of our weaknesses and failures, we assess that there have not always been in the province sufficient initiative, readiness, and scope for more solid integration, for better cooperation with the organs and institutions in Serbia. We will have to see together what can be improved and promoted in these mutual relations.

It is not good to ignore the legal institutions and the leadership in the province, just as it is not good to tolerate parallelism with groups and individuals who bypass the legal structure of a republic or province and impose themselves as some kind of self-appointed protectors of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Azem Vlasi said in conclusion that it would be good if the LCY Central Committee appointed larger groups of political activists from all republics and Vojvodina, as well as the Federation, who would spend longer in Kosovo.

They would become acquainted in more detail with conditions in Kosovo and would assist the cadres in the field to create the feeling among the people that they are not alone, that Yugoslavia is with them. Similar assistance is also needed in education.

In connection with the speech by Krasnici, Vlasi said that the part about the relationship between the organizational committee and the republican leadership is not the official view, that this was Krasnici's personal opinion. Similarly, he added, I cannot accept the claim by Jovanovic that there are separatists sitting in the provincial leadership.

[Passage omitted] Borisav Srebric stressed that economic reform cannot be carried out by means of dogmatic awareness. He warned about the unclearly expressed advocacy of the market and strengthening of economic agents' independence. He emphasized that it is not enough for the LC to advocate, it must fight. It is still unclear, he said, what kind of market we are advocating, a competitive one without barriers or one based on decentralized etatism.

Srebric emphasized that economic reform based on the statehood of republics would be condemned to failure in advance. He also said that relieving the economy is a necessary condition for economic reform. Speaking about the May measures, Srebric noted that economic

life quickly showed that current economic policy is inflationary and recessionary. As for the three reforms, he said that introducing them before reforming the economic system would be a wrong move.

According to Srebric, galloping inflation cannot be stopped gradually. In that context, he noted that it is not clear to him why the anti-inflationary program established by the long-term program for economic stabilization, was abandoned, without attempts to develop it. In fact, a long-term program was abqandoned which was prepared more thoroughly than the constitutional amendments.

Dobrivoje Vidic basically supported the proposed document on the immediate tasks of communists for overcoming the current unfavorable situation in the country, but he added a few concrete propositions. For several years, he stated, the FEC has been proposing directions for economic policy which the Assembly accepts, and the results are persistently contrary to predictions. This is why we should dismiss all executive organs by a vote of confidence, both in assemblies of the socio-political communities as well as in socio-political organizations, whenever the proposed policy cannot be justified by practice.

Vidic proposed that the Federal Assembly make an expert examination of the program for relieving the economy and publish the results of this examination. It is necessary to draw up a report on reasons for not carrying out the present five Assembly programs for relieving the economy.

Vidic especially turned to the question of LCY unity and identified its strengthening as the most important party task. LC leaders should report publicly as soon as possible on who and what drags the SFRY into disintegration. Failures in our internal development, Vidic assessed, are the basic sources of the negative publicity about Yugosalvia, which also damages its international reputation. When we agreed to organize the next nonaligned summit, we undertook a big obligation to improve conditions in our country by the summit's scheduled 1989 beginning.

Noting that defeating the counterrevolution in Kosovo and realizing the appropriate changes in the Serbian Constitution are among the key preconditions for finding a way out of the crisis, Vidic proposed, in conclusion, that an initiative for convening the SAWPY congress be started. It is high time, he thinks, that the SAWP is an independent organization. It is necessary for this organization to develop into a real socialist movement, instead of being a form of LCY activity, as it is now. [passage omitted]

Having informed Central Committee members about Energoinvest efforts to attain exports amounting to over $500 million, Dragutin Kosovac drew attention to the fact that the overall bad situation in the country is threatening the successful completion of future business with partners, abroad. These disruptions in the country have already had an effect on foreign partners in the sense that they are beginning to lose confidence in us. This is proven by the fact that once it was sufficient to order goods by telephone, whereas now they will not consider deliveries until we have opened a bank credit account. This is very unfortunate for us. [passage omitted]

Concluding his speech Dragutin Kosovac said that everyone has to fight for the interests of his nation, but that we must show understanding and respect for the interests of others, and this is forgotten. Surely it is clear to everyone that AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, a community of equal nations and nationalities, cannot be placed in doubt. I am not blaming anyone and in particular I do not blame any leadership, but there is anxiety in the country. At the Zrenjanin or Kikinda meeting a professor from Pristina clearly set out the thesis that consensus must be abolished in Yugoslavia, that we must switch over to majority decisionmaking, and that the restriction on the term of office must be abolished. That could well be his personal opinion, but it was stated publicly, from the platform, shown on television, and, as far as I know, no one has yet contradicted him, Kosovac warned critically.

This session will be successful, Marjan Orozen said if it creates ideological, organizational, and cadre conditions to reject what is old and obsolete, and to reinforce what is new and progressive. The working class seeks a realistic and positive program which will secure better life and integration and not division. [passage omitted]

Orozen stressed in particular that he accepts the proposals on cadre changes as well as the suggestion that all those in the executive organs in the Federation should withdraw and cede their places to younger and more capable people.

In conclusion he expressed the view that it is not enough for the LCY Central Committee to address criticism to its Presidium because of the situation in Kosovo. According to him, the situation in that province constitutes a striking example of the way the LC must not and cannot work if it wants to be the vanguard. The Kosovo situation shows what is happening with the system that forgets economic and social laws, and what happens to a political organization when it becomes separated from the masses.

War veterans are particularly worried about divisions and conflicts and confrontations between the republics, stressed Metodije Kotevski.

It is high time the responsibility for the nonimplementation of the agreed policy is established. The LC, added Kotevski, must rid itself of the fellow travellers who impair its reputation. It is also important, he added, who

will come after those who are leaving so that the same mistakes are not repeated. The results of work must be the basic criterion in the choice of the cadres. [passage omitted]

We must absolutely opt for the three reforms. In principle we are all for them but on the specifics we still differ, stressed Ante Markovic.

After expressing criticism of some of the orientations of the economic reform, Markovic said that precious little has been done in reforming the political system. On the whole the corrections envisaged are of a quantitative rather than of a qualitative nature. However, the essence of this reform must be how to transfer power from the political to the economic structure.

The LCY must now channel the energy of nonpoliticized masses into forming a new economic system, stressed Markovic.

The working class will not forgive either the LC or anyone else if we go on marching into poverty, said Teza Dimic, entering the plea that it should be made possible for workers to earn enough to buy white bread instead of providing subsidies for the price of black bread. [passage omitted]

In Mehovic's view, all the conditions are at hand for a radical change. By and large, mass rallies reflect strong support for Tito's Yugoslavia, in which all the achievements of our revolution are preserved and there is support for a community in which he will not be constantly counting heads.

Mehovic also spoke of the forces which want to stop this change. He cites the example of the recent meetings in Titograd, Montenegro, where, he stressed, some enemy forces showed their hand. He also pointed to the attempts to challenge the role of the appropriate organs in preventing nationalistic and hostile events at the point when other means had been exhausted. [passage omitted]

Ever since the 1st LCY conference and the 16th LCY Central Committee session, the situation has been deteriorating seriously, said Enver Djerdjeku, and the differences between the leaderships are particularly worrying. The situation in Kosovo is characterized by more and more fierce activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists, he warned, making the provision that he is not making comparisons. He stressed that one-nation rallies also have had an unfavorable impact.

Djerdjeku said that the Kosovo situation is not just affecting the Serbs and Montenegrins, although they are under the greatest threat, but also others who live in the province. People in the street can see that nationalism is trying to become the force to rally together all destructive forces in the struggle against the LCY and Tito's line. Albanian nationalism, he stressed, is trying to equate the Serb people with hegemonism, while Serb nationalists equate Albanian nationals with Albanian nationalism, and separatism, trotting out the thesis about the small number of honest Albanians.

In speeches by some responsible people, Djerdjeku went on to say, we can hear statements like "the people want" and "the people have decided." In Tito's interpretation, he added, the word people means everybody together and not just individual Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, or others. This applies particularly to Kosovo where the people have been fated to live together with one another.

Saying that one-nation rallies, to put it mildly, irritate other nations and nationalities, Djerdjeku said that in addition to justified demands, unacceptable demands are heard as well at such rallies. In addition, he pointed out that sometimes demands are heard coming from certain scholarly and educational institutions, and not from them alone, to curtail the rights of nationalities and their national identity. This is particularly discernible in the case of language. Such demands, stressed Djerdjeku, must be rejected as hegemonistic. [passage omitted]

Session Chairman Marko Orlandic reacted to Milovan Popovic's speech, stressing that he was doing so in his own name. He said that as early as tomorrow the Central Committee will have an opportunity to express its view on the confidence they have in all the permanent [na stalnom radu] members [of the Presidium], with the exception of the four members who have already resigned. This will provide an opportunity for them to express their views on deviations, inconsistencies, and mistakes and will also be an opportunity for the Central Committee to make further cadre changes.

Commenting on Popovic's statement as to why the 17th LCY Central Committee session has been postponed, Orlandic said that the sole reason for that was the desire to come to this plenum with a platform which will provide a basis for all the forces wihin the LC to rally together and find a way out of the difficult political and socio-economic crisis. He also mentioned that the 17th session had been prepared with the direct participation of all republican and provincial LC organizations and the LCY organization in the YPA.

Stipe Suvar's introductory report, stressed Orlandic, had received full and unanimous support by the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which of course does not mean that Central Committee members are not entitled to think differently.

I personally do not know, Orlandic said to Milovan Popovic, how you personally reacted at the time to the conduct of the 16th session, which you today deem unsuitable.

Having stressed that he was presenting his personal view, Orlandic said that he thought that it was a big mistake for the joint session of the LCY Central Committee

Presidium and the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo to be held without the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. I think that an in-depth explanation should be made as to how that session occurred and how everything concerning that session passed off. The Presidium must discuss this and inform you about it in an objective, communist, and unbiased way.

I am explicit and categorical in saying, Orlandic concluded, that the way in which Milovan Popovic addressed the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is unacceptable and I suggest that the Central Committee should reject it. After this statement by Orlandic applause was heard in the hall.

The LCY Central Committee will resume its work tomorrow at 0900.

18 Oct 17th LCY Central Committee Session

Army's Mirkovic Gives Address

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[Speech by Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session held in Belgrade on 18 October—recorded]

[Text] As a member of the LCY Central Committee, I would first like to say that I fully agree with the criticism of that part of the discussion is much too theoretical and philosophical and has little to do with what we are discussing today. I regard the lack of concrete proposals for clear positions and tasks as avoiding taking a specific stand, in form and content, on issues on the agenda—and extreme opportunism.

It is not easy, but let us try to work in a more operative way and make the job of the working body elected to conclude this discussion easier. Many Central Committee sessions have disappeared in the abyss of oblivion because of their bad decisions. Therefore, by supporting the standpoints for this session, I think that we must give these decisions in a concrete form and improve them, because in the present form they will not be able to fulfill their task.

I also support Comrade Suvar's speech, although it did not discuss the topic that I want to talk about.

In my speech I will express some of the assessments and views of the Communists in the LC organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] of the current issues of country's defense. This Central Committee has not discussed the topic of defense yet, and I regard this as its great weakness.

At present I think it is very important for the Central Committee to take clear stands on some essential defense questions. The LCY has the most responsibility for the security of the SFRY and cannot ignore this question, not ever. Comrade Dizdarevic spoke very convincingly about this earlier.

First of all, I would like to say something about our present military-political situation. I must immediately say that there is no cause for any apprehension or nervousness, although we cannot be indifferent toward the circumstance around us, primarily because of the situation in the country. There has not been and there is no essential worsening in the military-political situation in the world. It is obvious that the incipient process of relaxation will be long and painful.

In this context, and in view of the crisis in the country, we think that the country's security is more sensitive than it usually is. Although people are expressing a wish for a stable and strong Yugoslavia, there are signs that this wish is changing and that the situation in Yugoslavia is seen differently. Here are some facts:

Attempts have been made to internationalize the crisis and to interfere directly in our internal affairs via, for instance, raising the question of human rights in the country. Moreover, the press in several of our neighboring countries has recently expressed some territorial pretensions toward the SFRY. They mention some parts and regions that at one time used to belong to certain other countries. They have expressed concern over the stability of the SFRY and in this connection for their people living in the SFRY. I have some neighboring countries in mind.

They are all examining and assessing the further development of events and their own attitudes toward them. Some neighboring countries have undertaken such measures of security as if the crisis were happening in their country. Do we see all this?

There are difference in the LCY over assessments of the military-security situation, but this is not tragic. However, [word indistinct] there are phenomena of unrealistic optimism, rosy views, as well as dark tones and defeatism. We must neither underestimate nor overestimate dangers. [Word indistinct] nobody in this country has reason to invent dangers from outside. There are enough facts for objective assessments. I agree that handling of information can and should be better. I think that we can conclude that in the development of the military-political situation there are some elements that could endanger the security of the country.

At present there are no conditions for a military threat, but a sudden change in the situation is always possible. It is more realistic to expect other kinds of pressures and influences on trends in our country. From the most extreme foreign forces we can expect subversive-terrorist activities in collusions with internal enemy. We must

draw certain lessons from this. At this moment I think that the most important things for the security of the country are the strong moral-political unity of the Armed Forces and peoples and widely supported self-protection of the state.

This is the first condition for eliminating the dangers that hang over our country. The role of the LCY in this is irreplaceable.

Second, our international position has been reinforced by our country's and our Armed Forces' activities in the international field. Yugoslavia is at the very forefront of the struggle for peace. Our constructive activity within the CSCE conference is well known. The SFRY has voluntarily and on its own initiative reduced its Armed Forces. However, one country cannot go far in this direction alone. Now it's the other countries' move. We are developing a defense doctrine and armed forces sufficient for the defense of the country, but not for aggressive purposes.

This is still a theory in Europe, and this doctrine is only just being considered. Inter-army cooperation, especially among nonaligned countries, and military-economic cooperation with some 70 countries is in the spirit of our independent and nonaligned foreign policy. There are unfounded and malicious attacks on this cooperation, particularly on the military-economic cooperation. I think that the Central Committee should state its views on all these questions that I have mentioned in the document on stances.

Third, the crisis in society has not significantly affected the defense capability of the country. This is confirmed by all assessments of the highest appropriate state organs in the federation, republics, provinces, and the LCY organs. The reputation and respect for the Yugoslav defense and Yugoslav Armed Forces is still very great in the world. We must maintain this. One could have and can do more to strengthen defense because the working people and citizens hold a uniform view on this.

The system of All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, particularly the Armed Forces, contains autonomous defense mechanisms that protect them from the effects of the crisis. They are still protecting them. These are above all Yugoslav socialist patriotism, the organized moral-political training within the Armed Forces, and the activity of the LC and the League of Socialist Youth Organizations in the YPA. This is why the state of the combat readiness of our Armed Forces for defense and [word indistinct] surprises is at the level which the current situation requires. However, these mechanisms are also limited. The LC in the YPA must always search for solutions that would continue to protect the integrity of Armed Forces from increasingly negative effects.

If the crisis continues, all fundamental tenets of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection that have been put into practice will, objectively speaking, be endangered. The key question in all this is: To what extent will the concept of all people's defense and social self-protection be possible and effective if negative processes continue?. This is clearer in the light of the counterrevolution in Kosovo and increasingly intensified intranational relations in which national interest has been glorified to such an extent that it could potentially lead to nationalism and nationalist clashes.

In this case one can raise the question of not only the effectiveness of all people's defense and social self-protection, but also of the abuse of its fundamental values. The LCY will certainly not allow this. I think that this should be clearly said today. The LC organization in the YPA will do its best to preserve the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection as unified, Yugoslav, so that Armed Forces remain a unified armed force of the country. Of course, the constitutionally determined role and place of the republics and provinces is irreplacable, especially in the building of the territorial defense and preparing society for war.

Fourth, there are more and more different initiatives, ideas, and proposals which offer very often acceptable but unrealistic and even reactionary defense options. The majority of these ideas are the result of a creative search to improve defense in new conditions. A very intensive scientific-research work in the Armed Forces and society in general has absorbed the majority of these ideas as useful. By the end of this year, for instance, work on the Yugoslav project, the all-people's defense and social self-protection in the SFRY, will be completed. This work provides a clear picture of the current state and the direction of further developments in our system of defense.

One group of ideas is theoretically sound, but they are not applicable to the concrete historic conditions. Within this group is also the revival of the idea of armed people as well as neopacifism and various alternative movements. As a part of radical changes in the concept of all-people's defense there are also ideas that are both reactionary and counterrevolutionary in their essence.

Their origin is in the bourgeois-liberal and social-democratic theories of bourgeois society. Some are even resorting to having an ideological arsenal of the feudal concept of society. Such was, for instance, the initiative to examine our strategic solution of defense military organization. In this process the territorial military organization is absolutized and the YPA abolished.

The essence of (?such) initiatives is to create independent republican armies. In the distant past this idea met with failure in some parts of our country. In our present social, political, and ideological circumstances, this initiative is reactionary, defeatist, and capitulating. This does not mean that in our defense theory and practice we

should not tackle the question of the further development of the territorial army organization. On the contrary. The attention paid to the territorial defense of Yugoslavia as part of the SFRY Armed Forces is adequate for its role and place in a possible all-people's defense war.

It is not possible on this occasion to discuss all the initiatives and ideas that were offered. We must do that through all our work on the developing of all-people's defense and social self-protection. There is no doubt that we can and must do more on this in both the Armed Forces and society. It is necessary that this Central Committee gives its verdict and view on ideological trends in the sphere of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

Fifth, recently there has been much talk about the state of emergency and emergency measures and so forth, as if we are talking about an unconstitutional and secret job that is threatening the democratic development of the country. Disinformation has been spread and the total ignorance of the Constitution and laws of this country have been demonstrated. Emergency measures are a constitutional category and, if undertaken, protect the constitutional order and the freedom of people. The place and role of Armed Forces in all this is, if it happens, turned toward dangers from outside and the elimination of armed and destructive attempts to overthrow the socialist system.

Therefore, we should eliminate allegations that the Armed Forces are continuously plotting against democracy. This is absurd. Armed forces have a clearly and precisely defined role in protecting the constitutional order. They are professionally, morally, and politically ready to carry out these tasks and role regardless of insinuations that are still being made in this respect.

Sixth, intranational clashes, which recently erupted in our political scene, have adverse effects on the multinational YPA. Some young people also act from the nationalist positions in the YPA. This has been more frequent recently and requires greater efforts on the part of the LCY, the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia to (?master) and protect brotherhood and unity. What I want to warn against on this occasion is soldiers associating on the basis of nationality, divisions that are not incomprehensible and unnatural, but in this situation has escalated as far as extreme nationalist group activities which disturb the unity in Army [word indistinct].

So far among soldiers it has been the members of Albanian nationality that gathered on this basis. Very recently this was also the case with others. But the most extreme are the members of Albanian nationality because they are also inclined to terrorism. We are vigorously eliminating such cases and will continue to do so, but we know that this is not a permanent solution. This is why I would like to say something about this in particular.

Our main preoccupation in this matter is not to punish these young men, but work on education. Soldiers, particularly the soldiers of Albanian nationality, are devoted the greatest attention in the YPA, not only as soldiers but also as young men. I must present this fact, which is a sad fact, but I have special reasons to present it. Out of all those Albanian soldiers who were the members of illegal groups uncovered this year, only 7 percent have been tried. They were mainly the initiators and leaders of these groups. All others were offered advice. I am presenting these facts because of those who educate these young men and send them to courtrooms and military and other prisons, and then wash their hands like Pontius Pilat.

I would also like to stress that if the level of nationalist passions can be tolerated in society, this cannot be done in an Army which is oriented toward outside tasks.

I propose that the Central Committee oblige the republican Central Committees and provincial committees to study deviant behavior on the part of young people from their republics and provinces within the Army, and to undertake certain measures in the communal and other LC organizations from which these nationalistically inclined young people originate.

Regardless of this indoctrination of young people who come to the YPA, the Communists in the YPA feel a deep personal responsibility for their state of mind while they are in the Army. They will work even more on educating them in a socialist spirit.

I would like to point out that, as regards this matter—which is to say, the education of conscripts—we have recently had more fruitful cooperation and coordination with the LC organizations, particularly in Kosovo.

Seventh, I would also like to say something about the situation in Kosovo. Because of this political-security situation and every other situation, Kosovo today is the weak link in our defense. The leadership of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo must bear very concrete responsibility for this. We are expending enormous efforts to improve the situation, and the first results have been achieved in consolidating and developing the territorial defense. However, much time will be needed to improve the situation in this respect.

I also want to express our view on constitutional changes in Serbia that refer to defense. The proposed changes better regulate the question of unity in defense—that is to say, society's preparations for all-people's defense and for conducting a war based on all-people's defense in Serbia. Moreover, the organization, preparation, and conduct of territorial defense in the republic as a whole has been solved in a better way. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that one should bear in mind the need to bring the changes into accord with the federal law on national defense, (?because) some questions of command have been regulated.

Finally, it is clear to the Communists in the YPA that the Armed Forces' readiness and preparedness for defense must never be endangered, regardless of the social circumstances in the country. There is no excuse for the situation to be otherwise, and this must and can be achieved through the persistent ideopolitical work of (?officer) cadres of the LC and Socialist Youth organizations in the YPA. In this struggle we count on the patriotism of our people and on their love for peace and for their immediate and broader homeland. We will intensify our work and efforts in training the Armed Forces for this task.

Finally, I would like to express my view on the question of responsibilities, resignations, replacements, and so forth. In this respect, we must prevent everything inhumane and uncultured, particularly what is not true. Everybody has the right to statutory procedures. This is one thing. The second thing is that we must bid a humane farewell to those who depart, for whatever reason. I do not want to turn my back on and avoid looking at those comrades with whom I sat in these benches, unless they have gone over to the enemy's ranks. And third, we must be principled and even react as if we were not directly the ones in question. In the commune where we work we are obliged to prevent the Central Committee members from being besmirched.

Sokolovic Speaks

AU1910145688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2040 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Speech by Zoran Sokolovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 18 Oct—recorded]

[Text] The conflict between the bureaucracy and the workers class obviously must and can be solved only to the benefit of the workers class. The LC must make its contribution to this, and of course it is a key contribution. It is our firm starting point that the reforms in Yugoslavia must and can be carried out only jointly and in unity.

In the discussion so far much has been said about the need for greater unity. It is clear why unity is necessary now and always—first, because it is lacking; and second, because one cannot go on without it.

The strivings of the LC of Serbia have frequently met with misunderstanding. This misunderstanding has of of course caused reaction in the SR of Serbia. When the initiative for changes in the political system was made some time ago, there were suspicions for a long time as to what changes the SR of Serbia demands and advocates. When the initiative for amending the SFRY Constitution had been generally accepted, our strivings for an efficient federation were questioned as a specter of centralism and unitarianism, and our warnings that a confederalization of Yugoslavia and a federalization of Serbia meant a break in the continuity of AVNOJ principles were ignored.

When the two most burning and vital problems of our republic—Kosovo and the constitutional situation—were disclosed to the public at large in the republic and in Yugoslavia, most varied interpretations followed and the question was posed of what is happening in the SR of Serbia.

When indispensable changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia were proposed, we spent more time and energy on explaining and defending the aims of these changes than on drafting possible solutions. We had to demonstrate—and I hope that this is now clear to everybody in Yugoslavia and correctly understood—that it is actually a matter of eliminating the worst obstacles that for 15 years kept this republic in a state of division and obstruction in the economic, political, cultural, national, and state sense.

The political significance of the assessment made by the LCY Central Committee Presidium to the effect that the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are in keeping with the conclusions of the 13th LCY Congress and the First LCY Conference, and of the fact that this is to be entered in the resolution of the session today, is great.

The Communists, and above all the people in Kosovo and in Serbia, found it incomprehensible that the truth about Kosovo should have made headway with the Yugoslav public so laboriously and slowly, and that even after so many years since the counterrevolution broke out, it is not clear to some people what is happening in Kosovo, what terror is visited upon the Serbs and Montenegrins, and what all this means for Yugoslavia.

Mass meetings of solidarity with disenfranchised Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo were called street policy and the policy of pressure on the leadership and even the entire people of multinational Serbia were declared to be Serb nationalists. It as if people do not want to understand that the very fact that Serbs and Montenegrins are being attacked means that their basic human rights are being threatened. This is particularly true because there is a lack of protection in the province and the freedoms and rights that are threatened are those guaranteed by the SFRY.

The entire [words indistinct] on the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia was carried out under a certain pressure of permanent questions: What stands behind the efforts of the LC of Serbia? What are the further, allegedly secret, intentions that can endanger other parts of Yugoslavia? It is understood only now that

only a united Serbia can be an important factor in the stability and unity of Yugoslavia and that Serbia can realize its unity only within Federal and Socialist Yugoslavia.

Rallies and meetings are by no means the innovation of or a patented invention of Serbian democracy. They are an expression of trouble and suffering. Reality is our harshest criticism, the greatest reason for calling names. Only people who do not want to see this reality can say that the meetings are directed against persons of Albanian nationality or even against other nationalities.

They are, comrades, the voice of an indignant and hurt people, a voice against Albanian nationalists and separatists whose destructive activity does not stop, against passivity and blockages of respective bodies and institutions of the system, and against general opportunism. They are a voice supporting brotherhood and unity; for equality, and for Yugoslavia. This was manifested at all meetings, and particularly convincingly at the solidarity rally of all peoples and nationalities in Vojvodina.

We have never denied that Serbian nationalism, just as all kinds of nationalism, always rears its heads during hard times, and this now is one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult period within last 40 years.

The problems of Kosovo and of the constitutional setup in Serbia have long been a gold mine of nationalists' destructive ideology and food for their dark aims. When the LC of Serbia broached these questions in a principled and resolute manner and started solving them, Serbian nationalists were left without their strongholds.

It is only natural that individuals and groups saw solidarity meetings throughout Serbia as an opportunity for putting up their unacceptable, hostile, and nationalist slogans. Such slogans and their proponents have been unmasked and removed. They were removed by the participants of the meetings, but that was done most convincingly by the flood of these slogans through which the people simply said: We want a united Serbia, neither big nor small; we want Tito's Yugoslavia; and we want brotherhood and unity. Had this not been the dominant truth of these rallies, there would have been no rallies; they could not have taken place in such a dignified and orderly manner on the part of the citizens themselves.

Comrades, hundreds of republican activists have spent innumerable days and nights in villages and local communities, in work organizations, everywhere where there are people and problems. This best shows what significance we attribute to political means of solving the Kosovo situation which cannot be replaced by anything else. From the very beginning, our starting point has been that the counterrevolution of Albanian separatists will be overcome when the battle for a mass and united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, everybody who lives in Kosovo, is won. Albanian nationals in Kosovo have shown shame because of the evil done, and also the lack of will to stop it. However, one cannot reach Yugoslav-oriented Albanians until provincial leaderships are engaged clearly and uncompromisedly in it. They have the greatest possibility of influence and therefore the greatest responsibility, too.

Certainly there will be no better today and tomorrow without this united front. However, it is not enough just to go on repeating that. When we in the LC Central Committee of Serbia extended support to the Pristina LC Communal Committee and the activities it carried out as an encouraging example, comrades from the province voted against. We have been encouraged by an increasing number of Albanians—workers, young people, and particularly intellectuals. However, they are also being attacked: [Word indistinct] little Robert from Pec, who is escorted to school by militia, just as his comrades are, Serb and Montenegrin nationals with whom he expressed solidarity, as well as student Liliana because of her speech at a rally.

We have to draw the right conclusions from the tempestuous events we have been witnessing recently. It is no longer sufficient to confirm the orientation toward the three reforms. One must act and set forth the order of his moves. We must understand each other more—that is, know more details and respect differences. Differences in themselves do not hamper unity—they are a reality with which we are living. What are unacceptable are politicizations and various insinuations when they occur, and particularly uncritical defenses of them when there is no reason for them.

Comrades, there are great expectations for this session and a great responsibility is facing this Central Committee. With harsh criticism and even indignation, workers and all the people call for changes, support them, and are ready to start them, but they want to do so with people who can and want to carry them out.

The main problem is not what we who are present here think about each other, but what the LC grassroots and the workers class think about us. We must make such decisions which can return as much confidence as possible to the LC leadership and its seriously threatened authority, as well as lead the LC grassroots, the workers class and all the people into the struggle for finding a way out of the crisis, for the social reform, and the better tomorrow.

Suvar Winds Up Session

AU1910141988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Concluding speech by Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 18 October 1988—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: I will not pretend to be able to make a concluding speech providing a proper round-up of the debate. It is very difficult for an individual to sum up a

discussion in which 68 Central Committee members and two guests participated, as we have just heard, and to point out everything most important and new that was said in the discussion. I would only like to read a few remarks.

It seems to me that the discussion was substantive as well as diverse. But its main substance was nevertheless oriented to the strategic goal. This goal is socialist self-management in the self-managing pluralist society whose central axis is the workers class that today includes all creators of material and intellectual goods who live from their work and on whose interests the unity of the LC and of this Central Committee is built. We must immediately start a thorough and far-reaching transformation of the LC and this transformation is a condition for the other two reforms, as we have stressed here. One of the essential elements of the reform of the LC is that it must function, with its collective mind—especially as our goal is to unite the forces of the creative material and intellectual work. And this is the first condition for the reform of the LC. The foundations of our policy continue to be Tito's but we must not succumb to an ailment of nostalgia for the past. Instead we are oriented to the future.

I think that yesterday and today we were united to a great extent in our orientations toward embarking—without any further vacillation or delay—on the path of the three reforms proclaimed by the LCY Conference, on the path of a united undertaking and [word indistinct] of renewal of socialism in our country. This is the only way not only to preserve but also to strengthen with new ties the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of this country. For if socialism is constantly advancing, it binds the peoples together; whereas statism, let us say, divides them. For this reason, I am deeply convinced, any view from the position of state and nation alone, no matter how much it may be decorated with socialist phrases, and certainly any social development or trend which primarily in our conditions proceeds from national and state and not from class and liberation interests, represents an idle course and a wrong politicization which deprive us of energy, hold us in a status quo, and also restore one or another bad situation of the past.

I think that, as we begin to build the unity of reformist forces, the first step must be to establish the link between the workers class and the LC and a separation from the state and bureaucracy at all levels of society. Neither any of the republics nor any kind of unprincipled coalitions have won at this session. It seems to me that the Yugoslav orientation to a real reform policy has been initiated and I would be as happy as the rest of you and a great majority of people of our country. [sentence as heard]

If I may note, a movement toward the platform of renewal of socialism was evident in a large majority of statements at this session. Still, there was more criticism than self-criticism. A greater amount of self-criticism toward [word indistinct] in one's own state and nation and one's own nationalism—which Communists most certainly do not represent—will move us toward a new internationalism both within the framework of Yugoslavia and the world and move us away from various ideologies of national reconciliation and homogenization. We must stress that neither in the future nor at present should the LCY Central Committee accept for a single moment the role as instigator of the crisis. Instead it must adopt the position of a way out of the crisis. Only a wide mobilization in the entire country on the reform program, accompanied by all measures of constitutional order in the crisis hotbed in Kosovo which represents the center of the crisis and whose cause is the polycentric statism marked by clear national colors and, more and more, also slogans. [sentence as heard] Yesterday and today this Central Committee gave its collective thought in its work and exchange of arguments to the question of how this process and all these battles for reforms could begin as soon as possible, because the fact is that they have not begun; and it is already too late and our time has already run out, as was stated. We were dealing with the issues of what kind of socialism we want to have and how we can gain the initiative in matters of substance of our life together—Comrade Kucan eloquently spoke about this—in a Yugoslavia that can only exist as a true federation because otherwise it cannot exist, as Comrade Kadijevic noted, and not as a unitarianist, separatist, or loose confederation, as Comrade Mamula noted.

It can only exist as a federation if we orient ourselves to development and the strategic issues, to what binds us together—that is, development, the social front, and the people who are factors of future development, as Bosko Kovacevic said. Only thus will we achieve a Yugoslav measure of things, jumping from [word indistinct] socialism to a new stage, as Comrade Mikulic said, and representing the interests of workers and not promoting any national programs and variations, as Comrade Lazaroski remarked. Only thus will we ensure responsibility not only for what has been but also for what will be. Thus we will achieve a strong federation, as Comrade Bulajic said; a pluralist and democratic community with initiative, and unity on the positions of workers, as Abdulah Mutapcic said. This implies depriving the bureaucratic bastions of their economic basis and changing the economic system from the position of (?self-management), as Comrade Lazaroski noted. It is from these processes—even though it seems absurd looking from the surface of the crisis—that awareness grows as a material force of change and thus the conflict between the forces of status quo and the forces of change thereby becomes clear, as Pero Simic said.

Here today we also called attention to the movers of a constant course of the class struggle, which is the concept of Marx and Lenin and which we cannot yet relegate to a museum of antiques because in our country, too, those whose existence and wealth are not based on their own work enjoy an increasingly better and more luxurious

life, and those who only live from their own work and the evaluation of the results of their work have an increasingly bad life. We do not aspire to antagonizing social relations but to really implementing self-management and to implementing self-management again, if I may recall Veljko Vlahovic's words, from the position of defending a change to the offensive. After all, in one way or another, the entire world is introducing self-management into the process of work and our self-management should be based on the work and knowledge that function in modern work organizations with initiative and in the entire society and not in some kind of firm that would be a state enterprise and shareholders' society from the beginning of the century, about which Dragutin Kosovac spoke here. This alone can open for us the prospect for future development that will not divide people into good and bad ones, and certainly not on the basis of national affiliation according to the black-and-white technique used in western movies, because politics is not a western movie, as Bogdan Trifunovic said.

This will make it possible to build unity on the strategy of a Yugoslav synthesis without which the country's stability and development are not possible, as Marko Orlandic observed. This implies that the federal institutions must perform their lawful functions and represent the guarantee of democratic power, not reducing this power to a mere petit bourgeois form and infatuation with one's own state and uncontrolled development, Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, said to us here. Above all it implies the strengthening and protection of the integrity of the LCY, of its cadre renewal, and of restoration of democratic centralism in both of its components, about which Comrades Stojanovic, Mutapcic, Kovacevic, Radonjic, and others spoke.

At one session or overnight the Central Committee will not solve the problem of inflation; and the Central Committee is not engaged in solving the problem of inflation because this is not its task but it can exert pressure and it can urge communists to struggle where decisions are made. No matter how dissatisfied and even angry we may be, the Central Committee will not be able to solve with a magic wand in 10 hours the problem of debts, but it can once and for all halt the negative trends, as Comrade Marjanovic put it. Thus the strategic role of the LCY will find expression, about which Comrade Setinc spoke, and thus the LC will not return to the role of a party of power and to the methods that have brought us to this situation, as Comrade Vula Micunovic said. This is the starting point of the three reforms, which puts the LC at the head of the movement for social changes and renewal of socialism—about which Comrades Mamula and Kucan spoke. It is a starting point for everyone to proceed from himself and his own shortcomings and to eliminate the causes and consequences of this situation. And it is a starting point for us to eliminate differences in the interest of work—about which Orlandic, Kovacevic, and others spoke.

The beginning of the reform implies an immediate acceleration of the country's political stabilization, and as of today this is also the main task of this session. Let me quote Slobodan Milosevic: The greatest change must take place in the sphere of economic and social life in such a way that life under socialism is no longer necessarily difficult and poor. By implementing the concept of market economy and creating a unified Yugoslav market it, will be possible to establish socialism as a rich society that, at the same time, will not be contrary to just relations among people.

Today the entire country has been pushed into a political mood that is totally antireformist—and let this be understood by all those who are fanning the flames of conflict on national platforms. We have no reason here to try to outwit one another over the causes and consequences. Yesterday Dragutin Kosovac clearly pointed out—and many others, including the last speaker, Comrade Perovic, also spoke about that—how we are losing business abroad and how foreign capital is already breaking the deals that had been agreed upon. This is not happening only in Kosovo; it will also happen in the entire country if we fail to halt the kosovization [kosovizacija] of Yugoslavia. Is it possible to hold the funds that have been approved for the construction of a highway because those involved fail to agree where something will be built? Comrade Marjan Orozen spoke about this here. And who is then the one who is depriving children and unemployed people of their bread? We will no longer tolerate this. We must urgently return to economical work. Yesterday miner Ahmet Mehovic, member of our Central Committee, clearly and simply told us this by saying that he does not know what the economic solutions are but knows whose responsibility these solutions are. But it was Comrades Orlandic and Mikulic who opened up the most important polemics about this here and they did it in a principled and comradely way. And we must clearly state our views on this.

The first and real task is to return to these ways and to move away from mutually outwitting and undermining one another, as Milan Radovic said, and to transfer the power from the politics to workers and transfer the modern economy from the hands of some conceited and selfish petit bourgeois individuals in leadership bodies—about which Pero Simic also spoke—to the hands of those whose fate is involved in this connection. This means that it is necessary to immediately settle the essence of the new norms on foreign investments [words indistinct), bring our model in this connection in line with similar models in the world, and use all our forces to halt the practice of withdrawal of foreign funds, something that will be in the end a real test of the relationship between self-management and the world market—that is, a test of socialism under conditions of commodity production. This is also the problem with the unemployment of a considerable number of our people.

And, finally, something about the problem of disunity, emergency measures, and the extraordinary congress. A majority of the Central Committee members who took

the floor at this session said that what is urgently needed are unity on strategic issues, rejection of republican positions as ultimates for the entire country, and a synthesis in a well-argued dialogue and ultimately in a unified implementation of views which the membership body accepts and implements as its own because they are convincing and are supported by sound arguments.

As far as emergency measures are concerned, we have the Constitution, the SFRY Presidency, and all other legal organs of the existing system. Nobody is in favor of introducing emergency measures but if we found ourselves in a situation where we would have to defend the social system against destruction, then we would be compelled to apply them; for, after all, today there is no country in the world which would not do this. The next LCY Congress was also discussed, including questions of when, under what conditions, and on what platform it should be held. At the LCY Conference we formulated our position (?on this) by which we stand until the expiration of the term which we entered in the positions of the conference: the end of this year. In any case we will hold it exclusively according to the statutory procedure be it either a regular or extraordinary congress. And I am as convinced as you are that this will be a congress of this LC and not of some party of power or of disintegration into a multiparty system and that it will be a congress that will be marked by the reform of the LC along the line of its own renewal and not of some kind of a regression. As we have pledged right here at this session, the platform for the preparation of the congress—that is, the decision and the first documents in this connection will be provided by the end of November. And, of course, this Central Committee will decide when the congress will be held.

Unity on the strategic issues, undoubtedly (?understood and stated) by a large number of participants in the discussion, represents a clear message to the world, to our country, and to all our citizens that we think about the future and that we will be ready and able to struggle for it and win. The present social and political ferment represents the condition and basis for the reform and not a blockade against it. It will turn into a blockade if we fail to use this ferment and orient it to the common strategic goals of our struggle for the further progress of socialism in this country proceeding from (?dialectic) relations, about which Comrade Kraigher spoke.

I think that this session has demonstrated that this Central Committee is able to act as a collective intellectual that unites the experience and class instinct of miners with the knowledge of experts and the visions of theoreticians. I think that, despite all labor pains, bad habits, and bad will, we have disappointed the ill expectations that wanted to turn the Central Committee into a place of crude settling of accounts which would be a goal unto themselves, as well as the expectations that we would find ourselves trapped, without any prospects and would thereby deepen the crisis in another way. The statements in the discussion at this session, supported by sound arguments, the statements made along the line of strengthening the Yugoslav synthesis of views on social changes and of the Yugoslav union of reformist forces—and there were many such statements and they were strongly dominant at this session—have had the effect at least of small encouragement and every such statement has been lik a road sign, even if only a small road sign. Every such statement has contributed to the platform of strengthening creative unity and this Central Committee and the entire LCY must base their action not only on the clear formulation of this platform but also on its complete confirmation in practice.

The painful topic of Kosovo: We cannot exhaust this topic at this session or at future sessions. We will discuss it until we change the situation there for the better. And we can wait no longer. I am deeply convinced that there is no one among the members of this Central Committee and no one in this hall who does not want this. What is involved here is the fact that we must no longer quarrel about what to do and how to do it, that comrades and Communists in Kosovo must no longer barricade themselves into a defensive and opportunistic line, and that comrades of the LC of Serbia must not limit themselves to merely continuing to send working groups there; true, they have done a lot of other things, too. The same also applies to us because we, too, limited ourselves to forming a working group that went there in one or another way.

It seems that now Yugoslavia has a Yugoslav program, that it has adopted it to resolutely implement it from the very beginning. But we are not resolutely implementing all this. And here we must press for responsibility and at one of the first upcoming sessions we will make a complex assessment of responsibility for the implementation of this program. As far as our successful or failed session in Kosovo is concerned, we went to Kosovo in a time frame to attempt something on the spot prior to this session. And we decided that we would continue. We will continue and there is no reason why we should not continue by having the three Presidiums—that is, these two of our Presidiums [the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Provincial Committee Presidium of the LC of Kosovo] and the Presidium of the Central Committee of Serbia meeting together for days not to outwit one another but to say that this, this, and this must be done. There is no need for television to relay such a meeting to infuriate people or disgust them and have them praise one person and criticize another. The purpose must be for us to halt certain things and to agree, and to move into a joint action, a Kosovo action, a Serbian action, and a Yugoslav action. This is essential and we must do this and we must do it immediately after this session.

And, excuse me, something additonal about the proposal for immediate tasks and activities. We will have this proposal at the conclusion of the session. Comrade Korosec will explain all amendments. What is essential is the fact, I feel, that we have improved it, improved it

with amendments and discussion, with all those amendments which comrades from central and provincial committees had submitted. There was an abundance of amendments. I have not looked into details but this is a good document, one of the somewhat better documents that we have succeeded in preparing in recent period. But no good documents are of any help to us if we fail to make them operational and to press for their implementation, something which also is the [word indistinct] and the meaning of the reform.

Suvar Urges Vote of Confidence in Presidency

LD1910170988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The basic criteria for the renewal of the membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee must be the candidates' position on the three reforms—economic, political and party, as many participants set out in today's debate at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

A proposal for the renewal of the LCY Central Committee was presented by LCY Presidency President Stipe Suvar when the party plenum resumed work this morning. Suvar urged the Central Committee to take a vote of confidence in its Presidency by a secret ballot.

One of the strongest arguments in favour of personnel changes in the LCY Central Committee was presented by Joze Slokar, who said, "We cannot keep on losing one battle after another and having the commanders keep their posts".

In illustration, Slokar specified that the Central Committee included individuals who had formerly been leading champions of a "programmed inflation" and the so-called agreed economy and were now advocating a market economy.

No Central Committee member should be replaced for simply having held a state post for too long, but, instead, for having failed to perform his duties, Stevan Santo said. Dara Krnetic suggested that no LCY Central Committee member be allowed to withdraw of his own will without his work being previously evaluated and his possible ideological-political responsibility established.

Rudi Kolak rejected the possibility of the dismissal of LCY Central Committee members who represent the youth organization and the Socialist Alliance. Stane Dolanc called for a strict separation of the party and state posts.

Milo Djukanovic said that personnel changes could not be carried out on the basis of whether a candidate had or not verbally supported the reforms but that the actual criterion must be whether a candidate had over the years worked for those reforms.

LCY Commission Accuses Vojvodina Party Leadership

LD1910200488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee and its Presidency are responsible for making unargumented and unilateral accusations against the Serbian League of Communists leadership which inflicted political damage to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), a party commission told the 17th LCY CC plenum here today.

The commission was charged with establishing facts and proposing party measures for the public confrontation and the conflicts between individuals and LCY leaderships.

At a rally of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on July 9, demonstrators accused the Vojvodina leadership of blocking changes in the Serbian Constitution and aiding the counter-revolution in Kosovo with its autonomist policy.

The provincial leadership condemned the demonstrations as a deliberate attempt of the Serbian leadership to extort constitutional changes aimed at narowing Vojvodina's autonomy.

The commission assessed as unacceptable the Vojvodina party leadership's step but did not take any individual measures of responsibility against the members of the Vojvodina party leadership since most of them have already resigned. The party commission established that there was no reason to criticize or warn the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Commnists concerning the confrontations.

On the basis of the party commission report, the LCY CC has instructed the party leaderships of Serbia, Vojvodina and Kosovo to establish individual responsibility of their members who took part in the public confrontations.

It also obliged them to establish the responsibility and possible measures for LCY members working in the news media.

Secret Confidence Vote on Presidium

AU1910141688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] On the third day of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, members of the highest body of our party decided about 20 minutes ago to have a secret vote of confidence in the LCY Central Committee.

Marko Orlandic chaired the session before the break, which is still under way:

[Begin Orlandic recording] I state that the Central Committee's proposal that the Central Committee decides on the confidence in each Presidium member individually by secret vote. I suggest that the Central Committee set up a commission to conduct the vote of confidence in members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium with the following members: Andjelko Kovacevic, Tereza Dimic, Suzana Dinevska, Nikola Jovanovic, and Martina Kolar. [end recording]

Further Report on Vote

LD1910175388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 19 Oct 88

["LCY CC Plenum—Morning Round-Up"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, OCtober 19 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee (LCY CC) Plenum, which has been discussing for the last two days tasks aimed at surmounting the current economic and political crisis in the country, today accepted resignations of four members of the LCY CC Presidency—Franc Setic, Bosko Krunic, Milanko Renovica and Kolj Siroka.

The LCY CC also decided on a secret ballot of confidence this afternoon to ten remaining members of the LCY CC Presidency, including the president and the secretaries. [sentence as received]

This will be the first secret ballot of confidence to the members of the inner party leadership in the history of the Yugoslav Communist movement.

The initiative of several Central Committee members on a vote of confidence at the plenum to presidents of the republican and provincial League of Communists organisations, who are ex officio members of the LCY CC Presidency, was not accepted, as contrary to the LCY Statute.

The supreme organ of the LCY today decided to approach the replacement of one-third of the members of the LCY CC, the party's top leadership between two congresses. As was agreed, the chief criteria for cadre changes and for the election of new LCY CC members should be the results of work of all the candidates, and their stands towards the three reforms (political, economic, and the LCY reform). At the same time, it was suggested that those members should withdraw from the LCY CC who hold state posts or are professional members of the political-executive bodies in socio-political organizations.

This means a normal democratic procedure of renewing part of the total number of CC members, not an expulsion of "sinners"—as the changes were explained by Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the Yugoslav Communists.

The LCY Central Committee took a decision—at the initiative of the LC of Serbia Central Committee—to form a working group to establish the responsibility of three ranking Kosovo officials—Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic—for the difficult situation in that province.

The party leadership of the Republic of Serbia today requested that Siroka, Vlasi and Dolasevic be dismissed from the LCY Central Committee for failing to help improve the situation in the province, where Albanian chauvinists and separatists have for seven years been terrorizing Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanians.

Kolj Siroka has for the past few years been a member of the LCY Presidency. Svetislav Dolasevic and Azem Vlasi have in succession held the post of LC of Kosovo Presidency president. The LCY Central Committee formed also a working group to establish the responsibility of its member Munir Mesihovic, who was Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency president at the time of the disclosure of the Agrokomerc affair, the biggest financial scandal in the country which involved around 900 million dollars worth of uncovered promissory notes.

Vlasi Speaks After Vote

LD1910204288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Speech by Azem Vlasi, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the LCY Central Committe plenum in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, I have full confidence in this Central Committee and the working group, but feel that I should say a few words as a contribution to the working group because I do not have confidence in the circumstances and atmosphere in which we have been working and fulfilling our tasks and because of our experience with some things of a similar character.

In other, more normal circumstances, the setting up of a working group to examine some problems, come up with some proposal or initiative, and assess and recommend solutions would be a normal thing in the method of our work and as such is regulated by the Statute. It is my honor, I believe the honor of every member of the party, however displeasing it may sometimes be, to render account of one's work before the party and the Central Committee. However, taught by some experiences and by what is at the moment present on the public scene, practice, relations, and methods of realizing certain goals, I am afraid that the working group will not be able to work normally but that the verdict will be reached through a section of the press and in other ways, through the propaganda-political machinery, and will be handed to the working group as a fait accompli. This is why I wish to use this opportunity and explain some facts to the working group.

If I had made some political mistake or refrained from taking action after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, then I would have understood that here lies the reason for the launching of such an initiative at this time by the Serbian LC Central Committee. I say this because at the 16th session, where there was detailed discussion of Kosovo, there was no discussion of the possibility of proposing such measures as the launching of an initiative like this, although we said that we would discuss responsibility in the way we have now set out.

My mandate as president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium expired 3 months before the 16th LCY Central Committee session. Before that I was a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee and its Presidium for 2 years. We discussed problems and worked together, sometimes we had disputes and disagreements; that is normal in our job. But at no time did anyone even allude to, let alone refer in concrete terms to, some measures of responsibilty against me during this work. Neither have I been told of any major objections to what I do, how I do it, and what I strive for.

At the end of my second 1-year mandate as president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, there were widespread initiatives in the organs and organizations of ithe Kosovo LC to find a way for me to stay in this funciton for a while longer despite the statutory restrictions. This was also proposed to me and insisted on by some of the highest levels of Serbian leadership. I categorically rejected this because our statutory decisions are very precise in this respect. There was also insistance that I should take up the post of president of the Kosovo Presidency, but I rejected this too, because, following criticism on and objections to the previous practice, we have put an end to the linear appointments of the same people to the various functions. The only thing that I accepted was to remain a member of the LCY Central Committee where I have so far been an ex-officio member.

Bearing in mind first and foremost the total LCY Central Committee membership from Kosovo, we noted that this was needed at this moment. As we can see now, judging by the criteria now established, this membership will be almost halved. I was elected by secret ballot—you already know this—with one single objection by Comrade Ckrebic that there should not be a replacement by a younger CC member.

There is something that I do not understand in the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee. We heard one explanation from an executive secretary at the session itself. That same evening in Pristina, at the joint session of LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium, the secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium read a speech prepared by the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. The parts of the speech concerning us were put forward as the stands of the Serbian LC Central Committee, with the apology of the president for his absence because the session of the Central Committee was not in fact over.

At the session of the Kosovo LC PC held on Friday, a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium also read the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee, in fact its expanded, or further expanded version. He also spoke about some concrete examples of how a child returned from school crying, how a law suit in a municipality had not yet ended after a year, in order to end these illustrations with the well-known atrocious act of exhuming a new-born baby, etc, and said here is the reason for which Kolja, Sveta and I should be expelled from the Central Committee.

It is perfectly clear to me that we are living in circumstances in which the question of responsibility is becoming much more acute. No one, including myself, can run away from it. This question is becoming particularly acute in Kosovo due to continuing crisis and we cannot get away from it. [word indistinct] The nature of a crisis is such that when it goes on for too long it devours cadres, people, even those who fight to solve problems. Because of the fact that, in my case, even the period since 1981 is mentioned, I must briefly recall certain facts which I think should be borne in mind by the working group.

At the time of the first hostile demonstrations on 11 March 1981, I was among the first, then rare individuals who drew attention to their real character and whose counterrevolutionary and destructive nature showed its true colors in the days which followed. In the generally unfavorable balance of forces in Kosovo at the time, especially in the leaderships, at a time when the leaderships of the republic and the country had not yet taken energetic and correct steps, I was part of a small number of individuals who had been vigorously striving for the resolute settling of matters, above all in the leadership and because of the wrongly conducted policy. At the time I used to receive awards everywhere, in Serbia and in Yugoslavia. In such a heated atmosphere in Kosovo, when people had to look after their personal physical security and that of their families, I did not step away from it. The process of differentiation and the establishing of responsibility for the situation, due to the continuing unfavorable balance of forces, proceeded very slowly. I understood regular elections in 1982 as a good opportunity for a bigger positive move. A great deal was changed, especially in municipal leaderships, but even this was done without any great support.

At that time, that is, immediately after 1981, some people outside Kosovo, for instance, called Pristina University a bastion of nationalism, while some in Kosovo tried to conceal and hush up the situation. Only as late as 1983, when it was proposed to me and when a decision was consequently reached, I agreed to head a political working group which had been working there for months and which only now started succeeding in

eliminating blockades and dealing with those who had brought on such a situation. When they called us a punitive expedition, and me personally the bloodsucker of the Albanian intelligentsia, we entered into open conflict both with academicians, science doctors, and other people. The situation has definitely changed for the better now. Of course, we are nowhere near satisfied with the situation in the university or in other spheres of social life, but we had then brought on a radical change which had enabled the normal functioning and existence of this institution.

From 1983 to 1985 I was president of the Municipal Committee Presidium, unanimously elected to this post above all because of the criterion, I was proposed and even the Central Committee Presidium insisted on it, whereby this post should be taken up by a man who would be accepted by communists and working people and citizens of all nations and nationalities. There are official statistics on the situation then and on how much work had been done.

The renewed and considerably rejuvenated leadership of Kosovo elected in 1986 was then broadly welcomed and accepted as the leadership of hope. I would like to say that I was among the small number of those who strove for such a transformation, and Comrade Kolja Siroka, then president of the PC Presidium, considerably contributed to it. However, a lot of things suddenly fell on the shoulders of the leadership—the duties to settle long accumulated matters from the past which had so far not been dealt with and also to go forward more rapidly in resolving concrete burning issues. They also rehabilitated those who had unjustly fallen out of political favor in the seventies, and clarified some of the political events from this period. It was necessary to politically clarify and establish the official stand on the controversial parts of the Bujan conference in 1943 which was, above all, subjected to various nationalist manipulations. It was also necessary, on the basis of the political stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SAWPY, to settle old accounts and disagreements referring to the appearance and use of flags of nationalities which had been agreed and on which a federal law should be passed.

In a principled and concrete manner we also explained and established the responsibility in connection with item 18 of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session and this Central Committee adopted our stands on it. All these things have been cleared up in a principled way, bearing in mind all the complexity and sensitiveness of the problems.

In clearing up these matters we have, in fact, created greater unity both in the membership and the leadership of Kosovo and possibly further afield. It can truly be said that this leadership has lifted, so to speak, all the taboos from the political life of the province. This leadership was most successful in opening up the province toward Serbia and Yugoslavia. What and how much we achieved in the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session is the crucial question which this Central Committee has already extensively discussed twice and which has unavoidably been the focus of attention in these past 2 days.

There are still no expected results in connection with some important issues. This has aggravated the situation, but neither this Central Committee, nor the Serbian or provincial committees have once noted that nothing has been done, or that responsibility for what was done was borne by the PC alone. Let me recall that the Serbian LC Central Committee noted a few months ago—in July I think—that since the ninth session more was done than in the entire period since 1981. There are, of course, many reasons to speak critically about all of us and self-critically of my personal work, as well as of the work of the organ I headed for 2 years. True, I did not manage to spend enough time among communists and citizens, nor to initiate the activity of other cadres in this direction. I have overlooked the opportunities, perhaps in some crucial moments, especially among the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, to win their trust with my presence and commitment and by showing due concern which I have always felt for these real misfortunes and problems. By persistent ideopolitical struggle we managed to a great extent to eliminate among the Albanians a very prominent negative political explosive force with which a great many of them had been burdened in 1981 during and after these events. There was a gradual sobering up, so to speak, and many among them realized all the harmfulness of the escalation and of any aspect of concrete activity fromm position of Albanian nationalism. However, we did not embark sufficiently on mass actions, first and foremost in preventing and condemning the various crimes against Serbs and Montenegrins, although there were such condemnations in SAWP organizations and in other places—more than the public knows about, because it is not true that the Albanians are keeping quiet, and even less that they are showing solidarity with those who are threatening others.

Recently, I have been accused of stressing Serbian nationalism. I would always prefer to avoid this if possible. Today, various misdeeds and pressures are being carried out by those extreme Albanian nationalists who cannot count on public political action because they cannot count on the support of the masses. What I said about being blamed for mentioning Serbian nationalism—I have never done this, nor do I do it for the sake of some kind of balance, rather because this has begun to be, unfortunately, a real phenomenon. Perhaps I should have kept to the general assessment which I made 2 years ago, that as an Albanian, I am almost not bothered by Serbian nationalism, but that it should bother the Serbs themselves. That is another matter, probably that would not have cost me as much. But I could not remain silent about these phenomena which certainly could have, and are, weakening our position in the struggle against Albanian nationalism, and that is above all why I drew attention to this.

Probably we are to blame for the fact that after every organized, hostile action, such as the recent case where several dozens of young people were arrested for distributing hostile pamphlets, we did not persuade Albanians en masse to condemn this. I am sure that they are ready to do this. Probably we should have taken more of an initiative in cooperation and joint operations with the republican and federal organs as well. There are certainly many other smaller and larger omissions and failures, where I, because of the circumstances in which I was working, regardless of my position, was not able to manage everything, but nor did I hide behind anyone. Certainly, in Europe there is no environment such as in Kosovo where it is so difficult and distressing to work, and where that work goes together with a great danger of mistakes and omissions.

All the circumstances in which this Central Committee is working are clear to me, and I will accept any decision in a disciplined manner. However, no decision can divert me essentially from the political line, program orientation, and everything else this committee wants to do to overcome the crisis, nor from Tito's path. Nothing will make me regret what I have done and what I have been striving for since my student days, some 20 years ago, and the dramatic events in 1981 and after. I am also prepared to accept everything that has been substantiated and rightly pointed out to me and to correct these mistakes and omissions. I am prepared, in additon to this, to provide the working group, if it is indeed allowed to work in normal circumstances, with other relevant facts and details to enable it to make a decision.

I do not dispute the statutory right of the Serbian LC Central Committee or anyone else for (?such an) initiative, nor the right of this Central Committee to act according to the statute. The facts should be affirmed and established for everything, and on the basis of them, a stance should be taken. But I reject the assessments which are given in the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee on this material, because such assessments can only be made for obvious opponents of the LCY's policy and for those who have been drawn into acting against our party and to sabotage it.

I am sorry, but at the very beginning I explained why I wanted to say certain things today, otherwise if I felt sure that the working group could work normally, I would not have [words indistinct]

Siroka Speaks After Vote

LD1910225888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Speech by Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, with introduction by Presidium Secretary Stefan Korosec, at the LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] [Korosec] Comrades, I propose, for the sake of exactness, that the working—just a minute, let me made a suggestion in connection with this, and then you can—that the working group which will establish the facts and the circumstances for determining the ideopolitical responsibility of Azem Vlasi take into consideration in its work the discussion of Comrade Azem Vlasi and have talks with him as well. Yes, yes, anything else?

I propose, comrades, that now, if possible, considering our work program, we should not have a discussion on the assessment, facts, responsibility, and work but, on the basis of the report of the working group discuss it as a whole at the 19th Central Committee session.

Your turn, Kolj.

[Siroka] I accept what you have just said, Stefan. I would like to ask this Central Committee to define precisely the task of the working group. Apart from what has been said to date I would like to add one more task I think the working group ought to carry out. Let me bear in mind the initiative of the Serbian LC, the stance of the provincial committee, and what was said in Stipe Suvar's report as to whether and how he will carry out this procedure, and what Stefan said now—that all the facts will be taken into consideration. I would like that one more task be added to the duty of the working group. We discussed at the 9th session, at the 11th, and now at this session, and even on previous occasions, that we should take care of the fact that there is yet another tendency to devalue [word indistinct], and I suggest that the working group assume such a task to establish these matters.

I will put forth two examples here which can illustrate why I support this and I will give a brief explanation. At the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, when the text was proposed on stances we ought to have in connection with the Constitution in Serbia, unity and fellowship in Serbia, and so forth I fully supported the report of Vidoje Zarkovic and asked that we look at all the gaps we have created, and what we could do so that we could make changes in developments and activities in places where these gaps are serious and which we cannot leave as they are. In addition to this I fully supported the document of [word indistinct]. I also discussed one thing, that the public should ask to change the law adopted by new Yugoslavia in connection with land-based relations in Ko sovo, which were also regulated in some other parts in Yugoslavia, that is, the law on the revision of the agrarian reform. There will be many bad effects if we do not answer this question. I suggested that we should come to an agreement together on how to answer this question to avoid any negative effects among the people who could be threatened by it and who could wonder what is going on.

I did not say there were no funds for teachers to return to Kosovo. I did not say there was no room for them to return, according to how the task of the platform has been established. And here I want to add something else. Look, here are some people who are witnesses from Serbia and some other comrades who took part in the expanded session where I was together with Comrade

Nikola... [changes thought] in its full composition, when I said that not only what has been set out in the platform should be done, that Serbs and Montenegrins who want to live in Kosovo should return, but that Serbs and Montenegrins who were not born there and everyone—Slovenes, Macedonians, etc—should come to Kosovo (?and that we should) create conditions for this. After all, why should this bother the Kosovars? I think that it is in the interests of Kosovars to have such openness throughout our whole community so that they could ensure their existence temporarily or on a more lasting basis in our entire community, which they have done so far.

Therefore this is not a matter that is not in the interest of Kosovo; I have defended this idea here and I believe we have won over people, at least the majority of people in Kosovo, that this should be respected. Work should be done to this end. How can such a thing be included in the constitution which in public [word indistinct]

Look, I have an identity card from the Belgrade Internal Affairs organs, and no one in Yugoslavia can claim that I am an emigrant. Here it is. And this is being claimed by people who are in this LC, who are doing—who knows what they are not doing? Why is this done? And it is said at the same time that because he is an emigrant he must be working for the emigrants, to support them. This is not true, either. I have not conducted an anti-Yugoslav policy either, and it is also not true that I am preparing some sort of assassination of someone who allegedly claims that I will find a truck driver to finish him off without it being proven. What sort of smear tactics are these which are made public? What is all this that is happening? I think that it should be asked who these people are and why this is being done, not only to protect me and (?things like that). Thank you.

Dolasevic Speaks After Vote

LD1910231188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Speech by Svetislav Dolasevic, LCY Central Comittee member at the LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] Although it has been agreed to form a working group, something which we have already opted for, it is nevertheless in order for me to say something briefly:

I would like to express a few of my observations, while not wanting to defend myself by them, because this would certainly only make my position more serious, and in any case I would need much more time for this and for stating my case. Nobody, including me, can avoid responsibilities, of course, if one is guilty, but it is normal that this responsibility should be established through a prescribed method fully respecting established principles and procedures. It is precisely for these reasons that I would like to state very briefly my observations on the proposal submitted, in other words the initiative.

First, I learned of the proposal from television, which was broadcasting the proceedings of the Serbian LC Central Committee session, without anyone telling me of this beforehand; surely propriety would have required that there be discussion of this and my views heard? It seems that the age-old legal maxim, Listen to the other side as well, has been completely neglected here. I have the impresssion that only the view of a group of members of the Serbian LC Central Committee was crucial.

Second, when, the day before yesterday, I received the written text of the proposals sent to the LCY Central Committee, I was amazed not only by the length of the text but also by the allegations which are completely new, and mean, at least for me, a high degree of political disqualification, which I cannot accept because they represent a subjective view verging on insults. I refer to the fact that this is a reference in particular to the attitude embodied in two proposals. Why was I amazed? At the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, held in Pristina, Comrade Zoran Sekulovic, explaining the proposal of the LCY Central Committee, literally said, and I quote: Svetislav Dolasevic is responsible, as the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and also as president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and during his mandate in these posts he failed to secure the system of authority in Kosovo, and he did not ensure the functioning of all the institutions of the political system, which, in accordance with the Constitution and the law, should guarantee the safety and equality of working people and citizens in this province.

Such a text was also proposed at the 13th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee by Milenko Petrovic on behalf of a group of members of the Serbian LC Central Committee. However, the text delivered to the members of the LCY Central Committee considerably expands this cited text which was adopted at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. I ask myself, what does this mean. A further three completely new items, considerably more weighty than [words indistinct] (?where an explanation of an explanation needs to be given).

I am informed by members of the Serbian LC Central Committee that the aforementioned explanation was approved at a session of the Serbian Central Committee, and that its expansion is unacceptable regardless of whom it came from. Perhaps the earlier explanation was insufficient for the pronouncement of the proposed measure. I do not want to speak about details of the entire text today, because I consider that I will have the opportunity to do so, especially since the group has been formed, provided that in accordance with the LCY Statute the procedure is set in train for establishing responsibility.

Third, I would like to stress, for your information, because some do not know, although we have already been together for 2 years, that I held the post of president

of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee for one year, 1984-85, and the president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with two mandates of a year each from 1986 to 1988, which means that I am not a long-standing official, and I worked earlier in the security organs and was provincial public prosecutor, president of the municipality and so on. So that these two prominent positions were only in this mandate for 3 years with a break of 1 year. I would mention that I have not held any other prominent positions in the province, except for the aforementioned.

The confusing fact is that 3 and ½ years after my departure from the post of president of the Provincial Committee a debate on my responsibility is now being opened, even though I was elected after that at the 13th congress as a member of the LCY Central Committee and there were opportunities then for my mandate to be disputed. However, 6 months after the expiry of my term as president of the Assembly and my retirement, my inactivity, tolerance with regard to the work of the organ and so on is now being established.

Not wishing to go on any longer, because there is much more that I would like to say, during my period of work in these two prominent positions I worked conscientiously and to the extent and as far as I was able on the realization of the LCY tasks and as president of the Assembly in accordance with the constitutional and procedural jurisdiction and obligations. This certainly does not mean that I have not made mistakes, that in other circumstances I could have done more, which would certainly have given better results in resolving the Kosovo reality. I am prepared to accept full political responsibility for all my mistakes and omissions, which this Central Committee will establish in the spirit of the LCY Statute. In conclusion, I am also prepared to leave the LC right now if this would significantly contribute to the more rapid stabilization of the situation above all in Kosovo and in the country as a whole, but not in order to then be accused of everything that is attributed to me, I stress, for all of it, and there certainly is something to blamed for and no one can deny what is reality.

My political involvement will continue unabated in the implementation of the tasks of the LCY because I have bound my entire life up with the policies of the LC. May I end with the fact that I have completed my working life, in my view, not denying individual mistakes, honestly, without any material or other deviations; that I am not ashamed of my work and behavior, and that up until now, in all 44 years of my service in the LCY I have not tarnished the image of a member of the LCY.

Ckrebic Resignation Postponement

LD1910212188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2012 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The 19th League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee session will discuss Dusan Ckrebic's resignation of membership in the LCY CC.

Ckrebic submitted his resignation when he received 68 of a possible 146 votes in a Central Committee confidence vote by secret ballot. Under the LCY Statute the outcome of the vote did not oblige Ckrebic to resign. The statute envisages only two ways of leaving the Central Committee—by resignation or dismissal.

Serbian Central Committee President Slobodan Milosevic requested the postponement because Ckrebic's basic organisation (the Serbian Central Committee) should first discuss the question, he said.

LCY CC Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski of Macedonia said he was personally disappointed with the outcome.

It seems that one republic lost and an unprincipled coalition won, Tupurkovski said, paraphrasing LCY CC Presidency President Dr Stipe Suvar.

Yesterday, Suvar said that no republic, province or unprincipled coalition had won at the plenum.

The vote of no confidence in Ckrebic seems to be directed at the work of the Serbian LC organisation and its president Slobodan Milosevic. Ckrebic is one of Milosevic's closest associates.

Milan Pancevski of Macedonia received 86 votes of confidence. Pancevski also supported Milosevic in the Central Committee Presidency.

Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic urged unity in the Central Committee and requested that Ckrebic's resignation not be adopted.

Vinko Hafner of Slovenia appealed to Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian Central Committee to "think out well what they will do" in order to preserve "the humble results of the plenum." Joze Slokar of Slovenia said he understood Milosevic's reaction, but asked that Vasil Tupurkovski's assessment be rejected. Stipe Suvar said the Central Committee Presidency would discuss this.

At Milosevic's request, Ckrebic accepted to have his resignation discussed at the 19th LCY CC session.

The 17th LCY CC session ended then and the 18th session was started to discuss constitutional changes in the country.

Plenum Sets Up Kosovo Working Group

LD1910183688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—On an initiative by the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists (LC) of Serbia, the LCY CC today set up a working group assigned with establishing the responsibility of three officials of long standing from the autonomous province of Kosovo over the difficult situation in the

province which is in the composition of the Republic of Serbia. This pertains to the charges addressed to Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic.

At its 19th session, the LCY will be advised about the proposals for the possible measures concerning the responsibility of the three officials.

The initiative of the CC of the LC of Serbia for the three Kosovo leaders to be excluded from the LCY CC was explained in the debate by Secretary of the Serbian party Zoran Skolovic.

It is high time, said Sokolovic, that individual responsibility should be ascertained for the failure to perform the party tasks concerning Kosovo. He stressed that the leading men in the province should also be called to account for the permanent worsening of the situation in Kosovo, for the terror because of which Serbs and Montenegrins continue moving out of the province while the consequences are being suffered by the country as a whole. He recalled that the CC of the LC of Serbia a year ago performed political ideological differentiation in its innermost leadership precisely upon the question of Kosovo.

Sokolovic pointed out that a big mistake was made when as far back as 1981 the responsibility had not been established for the outbreak of the counter-revolution of Albanian separatists and chauvinists. He said that the same mistake must not be repeated now, or else the LCY CC risks losing good name and authority in the country.

The initiative of the Serbian LC CC was disputed by the three officials in question, as well as by Kosovo Provincial Committee President Kacusa Jasari.

In Jasari's opinion, Vlasi and Dolasevic have become the target of unargumented calling to task and insults, since the Serbian LC CC initiative has not taken into account official assessments of their work. Jasari also rejected criticisms of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which she described as heavier than all assessments heard to-date, even at the current plenum.

Azem Vlasi rejected assessments put forward in the Serbian LC CC proposal because, as he explained, only an opponent of the LCY policy and someone who has infiltrated himself there to sabotage it deserves such assessments. Vlasi cited that only a year ago he has been receiving recognition in Serbia and the country as a whole for his political work. He recalled that the Kosovo leadership which was rejuvenated and renewed in 1986 was accepted as the leadership of hope. According to Vlasi, this leadership removed all taboos from the political life of the province and opened itself to Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Vlasi considers attempts aimed at his dismissal a consequence of a new balance of political forces. He stressed that his dismissal is demanded because of his resistance to the Serbian nationalism, because he did not agree to all of Serbia's proposals regarding the change of the republican Constitution and because he did not keep quiet about some negative occurences at solidarity meetings with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

Kolj Siroka and Svetislav Dolasevic also rejected qualifications put forward in the Serbian LC CC proposal relating to their work assessing that they contain a high level of political disqualification which they cannot accept.

Document Adopted on 'Immediate Tasks'

LD1910211288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia this evening adopted a document on the immediate tasks the LCY must implement to overcome the unfavourable economic, political and social situation in the country.

A two-day debate was held on the subject by some 80 members of Yugoslavia's top party leadership.

Yugoslav party secretary Stefan Korosec submitted a report of the working group for the conclusions of the 17th LCY CC session and said unity was achieved in the assessment of the situation and concerning demands for responsibility and the concretization of further tasks. It is imporant that unity has been achieved concerning the most serious and dramatic problem affecting the country, that of Kosovo. He assessed this as providing a solid basis for further action of the League of Communists and that a clean break must be made with all those who are not ready to energetically and consistently carry out this action, Korosec said.

Korosec also said agreement had been reached on stopping unfavorable economic trends and urgently resolving social problems.

Some differences on the major questions of the three reforms were also overcome, Korosec said and added that that does not mean differences will not appear in future, especially in working out, concretizing and implementing economic and political reforms.

Suvar Closes 17th LCY CC Session

AU1910200488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Speech by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the conclusion of the 17th LCY Central Committee session at the Sava Center in Belgrade on 19 October—live]

[Text] Allow me to join the conversation. What happened with the vote of confidence concerning us 10 members of the Presidium is in itself a new and unexpected thing, because this has never happened before.

All those in previous presidiums had the fortune or misfortune that [word indistinct], to stay in the Presidium until the end, until the next congress, unless something physical happen to them, that is to say, death or, (?I do not remember) but older comrades know better, health. This was also a reason to leave. There were also expulsions over responsibility, but this was a long time ago in Tito's time when Djilas and Rankovic were expelled. Forgive me, these are perhaps not the right comparisons, but since the 10th congress the Central Committee has [Suvar corrects himself], the Central Committee members have been elected in the republics and provinces. The congress approved them. The novelty at the 13th congress was that the members were nominated at the republican congresses and party conferences and then elected at the Central Committee session [as heard]. The members of the Presidium have always been elected by the Central Committee. On the basis of the logic used since the 10th congress, there are two comrades from the republican organizations and one from each province. They are accompanied by nine ex-officio presidents of the republican central committees, provincial committees, and the president of the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army.

There was one case, when we were electing the Central Committee and electing its Presidium, after the 12th congress, when one comrade did not receive the necessary two-thirds of the votes, but the Central Committee at that time decided to repeat the vote of confidence, and he was elected.

Therefore, this is a precedent and it is not normal. It is also surprising because, I repeat, it has happened for the first time.

However, it appears to me, I feel deeply, that in time this will become normal in the election of the members of political and state organs, including the members of the Central Committee. I think that we will get used to this as a very normal and democratic procedure. When something happens for the first time, things may not appear that way.

We in the Presidium held a very open discussion about this, and on Sunday night we decided, by a great majority of votes, to go ahead with the proposal that all members of the Central Committee Presidium who had not submitted their resignations—and those whose resignations were not accepted by the Central Committee, although they had submitted them—and who are on permanent assignment here, which is to say all the members of the Presidium except the presidents of the Presidiums, who are ex-officio members of the Presidium, demand from the Central Committee an assessment of their work, behavior, responsibility, weaknesses, and virtues.

We can only ask the Central Committee which elected us to do that. We accepted this because we felt that in recent months, how should I say, the social circumstances and circumstances within the party and the Central Committee were such that it was increasingly difficult to work, that we were under increasing criticism, and that we felt less and less capable. This applies, if I can say this, personally to everyone, to Comrade Ckrebic, me, Comrade Korosec. We were all increasingly unhappy about this situation. This is why we decided to go through this test, which does not mean, as was said this morning, that in 1 month's time we should not go through the same thing, or when there is an opportunity for this or when we are forced into this, which is to say when those who are in the Presidium [sentence incomplete; a reporter at the Sava Center breaks in saying "so much for now on the results of the vote of confidence."]

Suvar News Conference After Closing

LD2910233688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2320 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) expressed a Yugoslav orientation and showed that Yugoslavia as a whole is more important than any one part of it, Yugoslav party chief Stipe Suvar told foreign journalists this evening.

Suvar held a news conference attended by some 150 foreign journalists directly after the close of the three-day LCY CC plenum which had as the most important item on its agenda the debate on the tasks of the LCY in overcoming the economic and socio-political crisis in the country.

Suvar assessed the 17th party plenum as a step forward, because it demonstrated a strong commitment to social changes. A virtual consensus has been reached on such a commitment, he said.

Speaking about the forthcoming cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee (under the LCY Statute at least one third of the CC can be replaced with new members), Suvar underscored that this was not a quick change, but a normal democratic procedure.

Commenting on the fact that for the first time in its history the LCY CC held a confidence vote on its permanent Presidency members in a period between two congresses, Suvar said this was the start of a practice of seeking confidence when the need arises.

The LCY Central Committee gave a vote of confidence to all permanent Presidency members except Dusan Ckrebic of Serbia who received only 68 of a possible 146 votes.

Suvar said the world press had shown good intention in covering the 17th LCY CC Plenum without malice, if some exceptions are disregarded, but that there had been concern.

Yugoslavia will not fall apart he said commenting various questions in the press including the one on whether Yugoslavia will fall apart.

Suvar Asks for Cadre Renewal

LD1910210588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2009 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—At the 17th LCY Central Committee session there was an expression of a Yugoslav orientation, Stipe Suvar told foreign journalists this evening. He added that it has been demonstrated that Yugoslavia is more important than any one of its parts.

Suvar also said that a certain step forward has been made, because there was an expression of a powerful orientation toward social changes, on which there is virtually a consensus.

The proclaimed cadre renewal of the Central Committee is not a rapid replacement but a normal democratic procedure, Suvar stressed, adding that this is the beginning of the practice of seeking confidence when the need for this arises.

18th LCY Central Committee Session To Begin

AU1910194088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Report by Miladin Manojlovic from the Sava Center in Belgrade]

[Text] The LCY Central Committee is not in session. After the conclusion of its 17th session, a break was announced. I expect that the 18th session of the LCY Central Committee will begin shortly. This evening, the session will discuss the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the tasks of the LC.

Of course, we will report regularly on this, as we have so far, and inform our listeners. So much from the Sava Center.

Zarkovic Opens 18th LCY CC Plenum 19 Oct

LD1910233188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2202 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The proposed amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution are not radical, as demanded during the public debate on the constitutional changes, but can nevertheless contribute to the more successful functioning of the Federation, to strengthening a unified Yugoslav market and the role of workers in the decision-reaching process in the Federation.

This was stated in Belgrade this evening by League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) Presidency member Vidoje Zarkovic in his opening address at the Yugoslav party's 18th plenum.

The 18th session started directly after the close of the 17th plenum—a three-day debate on ways for resolving the economic and social crisis in the country and the problem of Kosovo. The proposed amendments to the Constitution are the main topic of the party's 18th plenum.

Zarkovic said a debate on more profound changes of the Constitution has been postponed for the next stage of work on a new constitution, since the republics and provinces have so far been unable to reach agreement on the issue.

Under the provisions of the present constitution promulgated in 1974, amendments to the constitution, or any other major decisions, cannot be adopted unless there is full agreement by the assemblies of the federal units—the six republics and two autonomous provinces.

No agreement has been reached on the introduction of a Chamber of Associated Labour in the Assembly of Yugoslavia (which would provide the workers with greater influence in the adoption of legislative decision), on ways for financing the Armed Forces, on extending the authority of federal laws over republican ones, on a unified tax system and on ways for electing the state Presidency of Yugoslavia (the country's collective head of state).

The most important changes on which agreement has been reached are in the field of the country's sociopolitical order and constitute a break with conservatism and dogmatism in the development of socialism in Yugoslavia. They involve the introduction of market economy and different forms of ownership (apart from state and private ownership, cooperative ownership and shareholding will be introduced) and the independence of economic enterprises will increase. Doors are opening to foreign capital, changes are envisaged in the credit and monetary policy, and the limit to the amount of land that may be owned will be up from the present 10 hectares to 30.

The amendments to the constitution are to be adopted by November 29, the national holiday.

Session Ends

LD1910230788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2213 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The 18th LCY Central Committee session ended at 2300 this evening by adopting conclusions on the tasks for Communists with regard to the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution. This session was held immediately after the 17th 3-day plenum of the highest party forum.

Counting both session so of the LCY Central Committee, their members spent over 40 hours in discussion during the past 3 days of marathon sessions. More than 130 members of the LCY Central Committee took part in the discussions, including the replies.

Belgrade Mass Rally Planned for 22 Oct Postponed
AU1910220788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] The brotherhood and unity meeting will not be held in Belgrade on 22 October, as could be concluded from a TANJUG report carried recently in public information media. Working people and citizens will subsequently be informed about the date of the meeting by a proclamation, in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Belgrade City SAWP Conference.

Pamphlets Call For Kosovo's Entry Into Albania
LD1910173188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—Appearing of late in the province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, are pamphlets asking for an entry of this Yugoslav province into Albania, a next-door neighbouring country, Zdravko Mustac, undersecretary at Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Home Affairs, announced here today.

Recalling of pamphlets issued by ethnic Albanian separatists having so far contained only demands for granting the province of Kosovo the status of a republic, Mustac characterized the appearance of new pamphlets as an attempt at internationalizing the Kosovo problem. Kosovo now has autonomy as part of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia.

In submitting a report to the Federal Parliament's Commission for Control of State Security Service, the high-ranking official for home affairs made it known that his service had recently detected a major underground group of ethnic Albanian separatists in Kosovo and was shadowing another several such groups.

Over 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of Kosovo within the past seven years under pressures, including psychological and physical maltreatment, at the hands of ethnic Albanian separatists. "Kosovo's ethnical purification' by means of acts of terror is only the first step in the separatist strategy of breaking Kosovo away from Yugoslavia and annexing it to Albania.

Destruction of Illegally Built Houses Postponed
LD1910205988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Skopje, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—"The city fathers" of Skopje finally "had mercy" and agreed, after persuasion which lasted the whole day, to postpone at least temporarily the demolition of about 1,700 illegally built houses in Dizonska Street in the Cair municipality. A group of about 200 citizens, which also protested this afternoon because their illegally built buildings are being destroyed, was not received in the city assembly this afternoon. After almost an hour of waiting, an unnamed employee on duty talked to them through a loudspeaker. [passage omitted]

Israelis, PLO Meet in Belgrade; Hold Talks
LD1910192488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1326 GMT 19 Oct 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—Israeli and Palestinian delegations have met in Belgrade to discuss possibilities for proclaiming an independent Palestinian state in the territory of the West Bank and Gaza, TANJUG learned in the PLO headquarters in Yugoslavia today.

The Palestinian delegation is headed by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas, better known as Abu Mazin, and the Israeli delegation includes Knesset (Parliament) deputies Matityahu Peled and Muhammad Mi'ari.

Their recent meeting in Belgrade confirmed that the Israeli party "Progressive List for Peace", whose most influential representatives are Peled and Mi'ari, supports the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishing of an independent state with the Arab part of Jerusalem as its capital.

PLO representative in Yugoslavia Al-Tayyib 'Abd al-Rahim told the diplomatic editor of TANJUG that Peled and Mi'ari also underscored that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that it is natural for it to take part on an equal standing in an international conference on the Middle East. Such a conference is the best way for solving the Middle East crisis, the participants in this Palestinian-Israeli meeting in Belgrade have agreed.

Al-Tayyib 'Abd al-Rahim added that the PLO, prior to parliamentary elections in Israel early next month, supports all the forces in that country which urge peace and a comprehensive solution which implicitly includes respect for the just demands of the Palestinian people. The PLO is calling on all Arabs who live in Israel to vote in accordance with such commitments, 'Abd al-Rahim said.

Contacts, such as the one held in Belgrade recently, will continue until the elections in Israel and immediately after them, the PLO representative in Yugoslavia concluded.

Correction on LCY Resignations Accepted

The following correction pertains to the article subheaded, "Resignations Accepted," published in the 19 October East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 57.

Page 57, first column, fourth paragraph, first sentence should read: ...provincial committees and presidia. We repeat some... (correcting word 'presidia')

Same page, second column, last paragraph, third sentence should read: ...that some assessments in the initiative of... (changing "and" to "in")

Same page, same column, last paragraph, last sentence should read: ...committee session continues. [end recording] (adding editorial note)